

A N  
E S S A Y

O N T H E

Comparative Efficiency

O F

*Regulation or Abolition,*

AS APPLIED TO THE

S L A V E T R A D E.

S H E W I N G

THAT THE LATTER ONLY CAN REMOVE THE EVILS  
TO BE FOUND IN THAT COMMERCE.

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By the Rev. T. CLARKSON, M. A.

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L O N D O N :

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T O

SIR WILLIAM DOLBEN, BART.

O N E   O F   T H E

M E M B E R S   O F   P A R L I A M E N T

F O R   T H E

U N I V E R S I T Y   O F   O X F O R D.

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S I R,

**T**HOUGH there are many Gentlemen, whose zeal and activity in the cause of freedom intitles them to every tribute of respect, yet I am sure, that, if I were to consult them in the present case, they would all join in determining, that this little work ought to be inscribed to you, as the mover of the first bill ever brought into Parliament for the purpose of restricting the bounds of the Slave Trade.

To you then, SIR, I take the liberty of addressing it, sensible that my conduct in so doing will be approved of by many, while it will be the means of conveying to you, as I sincerely intend it should, a testimony of my own esteem.

I have the Honour to be, SIR, with real Respect,

Your sincere and obedient Servant,

*London,*  
*June 4th, 1789.*

THOMAS CLARKSON.

A N S W E R

T O A

L E T T E R

F R O M A

F R I E N D.

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D E A R S I R,

I AM obliged to you for the information you convey to me, that the Merchants of Liverpool are preparing a bill, not a bill of mere theory and speculation, such as lately appeared, but a bill, from local knowledge and experience, to obviate every reasonable complaint, and establish every necessary regulation in the African trade. This news is of a very pleasing kind. It is, I say, of a very pleasing kind, because it affords a proof, that the slave merchants acknowledge abuses or evils which they denied before,

In consequence of the information you have given me, it is my intention almost immediately to sit down and anticipate

anticipate the bill you mention. It is my intention to state what are the evils in the Slave Trade, of what nature the said bill ought to be to remove them, and what the Advocates for Humanity will expect to find it. Now, Sir, the evils, which you will see enumerated when I publish my work, either exist or they do not. If they exist, the slave merchants should certainly join with us in attempting to cure them. If they do not, they can have no objection to the passing of most of the clauses which I propose; for in this case they will only be tied down by law to do what they are now actually doing *of themselves*, and this can be no hardship.

With respect to the *French Bounty*, which you wish me to explain, and the *threats* of the slave merchants to go to Havre de Grace, and other parts, on which you wish my opinion, I should certainly have written fully, but that the bounty is now under consideration in France, and that the French Court will undoubtedly take such steps, as will render your fears totally unnecessary upon that subject.

I perfectly coincide with you in your ideas of *Compensation*: for what is the planter to be compensated for? You are not interfering with his property. You are not emancipating his slaves. You are on the other hand increasing his property by increasing the value of his slaves, and you are increasing the security of the annuitant and mortgagee at the same time. There are many estates in the islands, which already support themselves without any supplies from Africa. Most of those, which do not, could, if but another importation were allowed them. But if the abolition were to take place to-morrow, there would be an hundred vessels or more either on their way to the coast, or upon the coast, or on their way to the colonies. Now, if the planters were to purchase the whole of the slaves that would be brought them by these, and not suffer *two-thirds* of them to be carried as before to the French islands for sale, they might *immediately* procure as many as they have been accustomed

customed to purchase in three years. It is therefore idle to think that they would be hurt by the abolition of the slave trade. It is the adventurer only that would suffer :—and what then ? Has any act of legislation ever taken place, but some one or another has suffered by it ? And after all, who would suffer most—the two or three individuals of this description, or those, who would be torn from their connexions in Africa to supply their wants ?

I shall add upon this subject, that if the planters should look for *compensation*, there will be two irresistible claims upon them. For Africa may certainly demand a compensation for the miseries it has experienced on their account ; and the numerous widows and orphans of seamen destroyed in the slave trade may call upon them for maintenance and support.

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

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**T**HERE are two data, which it will be necessary to establish, before I proceed on my present work. It is probable, however, that one of them will not be granted without a proof. I am therefore ready to prove it, and to furnish my proof from the mouths of the enemies of our cause, for assent will much less reluctantly follow, if I use a position of their own, than if I were to attempt to establish the same in another way.

In the course of the examination of the Liverpool Delegates at the Bar of the House of Commons, relative to a Bill “for providing certain temporary Regulations respecting the Transportation of the Natives of Africa to the West Indies, and elsewhere,” the following \* assertions came out.

Mr. PIGGOT, Counsel for the Merchants of Liverpool.

“I shall call evidence to prove, that, supposing the intended filling up of the blank to be but *one man* to *one ton*, it will operate as a virtual abolition of the trade.”

\* See Minutes of the Evidence, &c.

Mr.

Mr. NORRIS, one of the Delegates, called.

“ If one negro only were allowed to one ton, there  
“ would be no profit.”

Mr. MATHEWS, the second called.

“ In a ship of one hundred tons, if two	}	£.	s.	d.
men and an half were allowed to a		761	5	6
ton, the profit would be - -				
“ If two to a ton - - - - -		180	3	6
“ If one man and half, the <i>loss</i> would be -		206	19	9
“ If one man - - - - -		590	1	0

“ In short, if there be a restriction of tonnage *under*  
“ *two to a ton*, the trade would be as *effectually stopped*, as  
“ if a law were passed for its abolition.”

Mr. DALZIEL, the third called.

“ If the restriction takes place, the trade cannot be  
“ attended with that profit which persons engaged in it  
“ expect. The trade is *already on the decline*, and a  
“ *very small restriction* will help it on.”

Mr. PENNY, the fourth called.

“ If *less than two* full grown slaves, or three small boys  
“ and girls, under four feet four inches, to be deemed  
“ equal to two, are allowed to a ton, the trade cannot be  
“ carried on with advantage:—and if the blank of the  
“ bill be filled *with one to a ton*, or even *one and an half to*  
“ *a ton*, it will *tend to the abolition of the trade*.”

Mr.

Mr. TARLETON, the fifth called,

“ I am *authorized by the Merchants of Liverpool* to say,  
 “ that *less than two slaves per ton* (and it perfectly coincides  
 “ with my opinion) *would totally abolish the African slave*  
 “ *trade.*”

The first of the data then, which I wish to establish, is this, that if *only one is allowed to be carried to a ton*, the slave trade will fall of course.

The second is, that in proportion as the expenses attending any trade are increased, or its profits lessened, there is a tendency towards the abolition of such a trade. This is obvious to common sense.



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O N T H E

E F F I C I E N C Y,

O F

*Regulation or Abolition,*

AS APPLIED TO THE

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C H A P. I.

**T**HAT the Slave-trade contains unavoidably in its own nature, (and still more so according to the present mode of conducting it,) *a complication of evils*, is a position, which, I trust, that none but slave-merchants will deny. Such then I immediately consider as having no kind of connexion with the present work, for not judging it either an evil in itself, or productive of evils, any *solid or substantial* regulation (and this I have farther reason to suppose from their conduct during the last session of parliament) will be equally opposed by them, as its abolition. I address myself then to such, as have some feeling; as have a common notion of right and wrong; as have a wish to curtail the miseries of human life; as are *virtuous* politicians:

A

cians: and to every individual of this description in the community, of every rank whatsoever, I address the following pages.

From the above preliminary, it may be taken for granted, that *all* those, to whose perusal my work is now submitted, must allow that there are evils in the slave trade. There are, however, among these, three descriptions of persons, according as they are better or less informed. Some of them reason thus: "We are at present of opinion, as far as we have had opportunities of gaining any information on this subject, that regulations may be devised, which will effectually remove the evils complained of: but if such can actually be devised (and we heartily wish them adopted) why totally stop the trade?" There are others again, who differ in opinion from the former, and who think that any regulations, under which the trade can be put, will be inefficient, and that the abolition of it only will answer the purposed end. There are others again, who, though sensible of the evil, are, for want of information, in doubt concerning the best method of proceeding in the case.

It is my intention then, in the present essay, to offer to the three descriptions of people now mentioned, such loose hints, as have occurred to me, while I have been reflecting upon this question, and such as, being probably new, and throwing new light upon it, may induce those who have already formed an opinion, either more strongly to retain or reject the same, and may induce the doubtful to take a decided part.

For this purpose I shall enumerate what are actually the *evils* in the slave trade. I shall then suppose two bills to be brought into parliament for the removal of those evils, the one so constructed, as either immediately, or in a course of time, to effect its abolition; the other, comprizing its regulation only. Each of these bills I shall then apply to each of the evils complained of, and see whether either of them, or which of them, is likely to effect

effect a cure. If only one of them should be found on inquiry to be effectual, then the question would be determined. If both of them, then that would be preferable, which would answer the purpose best.

But before I proceed, I must beg leave to observe, that if any bill should appear, either from the merchants of Liverpool, or from any other quarter, that does not allow all the evils, here to be mentioned, to exist; and that does not take notice of them, and propose a remedy for them all, such a bill will be looked upon by the opposers of the slave trade, as frivolous and inefficient; as holding out an appearance only, without the substance of relief; and they will therefore consider themselves at liberty still to persevere with unwearied industry, till that full and ample redress is obtained, which the cause requires.

## C H A P. II.

Three divisions are to be made of the evils, that exist in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade. The first includes such as are felt by the *objects* of that trade. The second, such as are experienced by *those who are employed* in it. The third may be said to include a complication of evils, in as much as the slave trade prevents the introduction of *many sorts of good*.

## S E C T. I.

In the first division of evils are comprehended *three*, according as we consider the natives of Africa or the *objects* of the trade, in their three several situations, namely, while in their *own country*, while on the *middle passage*, and while in the *Colonies*. With this division I shall begin. I shall take each of the evils included in it in the order now mentioned. I shall shew in what they consist, and, then applying to them the two bills of regulation

lation and abolition respectively, see which of them is the most likely to effect a cure.

The *first* specifick evil then, experienced by the Africans *in their own country*, in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, may be seen from the following accounts, which are given to the publick in the same order in which they were communicated to me during some late inquiries.

## ACCOUNT the FIRST.

Taken from the Journal of the relator on this Subject.

“ Goree, Oct. 17th 1787. On making inquiries to  
 “ day, relative to the history of a certain negroe woman,  
 “ I found that she came from the country about Cape  
 “ Rouge, and that in the absence of her husband she had  
 “ been stolen and forcibly dragged away. Her case was  
 “ attended with this additional circumstance of cruelty,  
 “ that she was torn from her children, who, being too  
 “ young to undergo the fatigue of the journey, were left  
 “ behind.”

“ Oct. 19th 1787. Inquiring to day of a negroe lad,  
 “ how he came into the situation of a slave, he informed  
 “ me, that he had been stolen from his parents, in the in-  
 “ terior country above Cape Rouge : that the inhabitants  
 “ of the shore usually came up in bodies for this purpose,  
 “ and that they unfortunately met with him, and brought  
 “ him to Goree, in company with others, whom they had  
 “ taken in the same manner.”

“ Joal, Nov. 5th 1787. Since our arrival here, the  
 “ king of Barbafin has twice sent out his military to at-  
 “ tack his own villages in the night. They have been  
 “ very unsuccessful, having taken but three children.  
 “ They had no better fortune last night, having brought  
 “ in but one girl.”

“ Nov. 6th 1787.

“ Nov. 6th 1787. The military returned to day a little before noon, bringing with them a negroe, whom they took at a little distance from Joal. He was dragged between two of the military on horseback, and delivered to the crowd that were assembled before the gate of the village of Joal. The latter, having drums, horns, trumpets, and other instruments of horse, conducted him to the king. These instruments are used on all such occasions, to drown the cries of the captive negroes.”

“ Nov. 7th 1787. The king promised to day, that he would divide his military to-morrow, into more parties than before, and that he would set them upon several villages at once, and assured the embassy, that he could not fail of receiving a sufficient number of negroes to discharge his debts, as well as to return for the presents brought him.”

“ Nov. 8th 1787. This day, according to his promise, a fresh pillage was to commence. Having taken the resolution of leaving Joal, we were of course unacquainted with the result of it. The mulatto merchants however, of Goree, staid behind, determining not to leave the king till he had satisfied their demands.”

“ Goree, Nov. 9th 1787. Soon after our return to Goree, Martin, a mulatto merchant, arrived with his sloop from Sallum, bringing 27 negroes, principally women and children. The king of Sallum had obtained them during Martin's stay with him, in the same manner as the king of Barbafin, while we resided at Joal.—This is the common practice at Sallum.”

“ Nov. 23d 1787. By information received to day from a merchant, the practice of pillaging, in order to get slaves, extends as far as Gallàm.”

“ Dec. 3d 1787. A merchant bought to day a young negroe woman, for 80 bars, who had been kidnapped or stolen near the village of Ambarou.”

“ Dec. 6th 1787. A young negroe from the village  
 “ of Rupsk, was purchased to day, who was brought down  
 “ from Dakárd. He was on a visit at the latter place,  
 “ when the chief, incited by a merchant from Goree, ob-  
 “ tained the consent of the inhabitants, and treacherously,  
 “ as well as forcibly, seized him, and sold him for a slave.”

“ Fort St. Louis in the River Senegal, Dec. 12th 1787.  
 “ The Moors, in consequence of their presents from the  
 “ French, have just begun their incursions. They have  
 “ fallen by surprize on the king of Dalmammy’s subjects.  
 “ They have sent in *fifty* already, and about *one hundred*  
 “ more, taken about four days ago, in the same piratical  
 “ manner, are expected every moment.”

“ Jan. 16th 1788. Several negroes were brought in  
 “ to day by the Moors, who had, without any provoca-  
 “ tion, attacked their villages in the night, and taken  
 “ them. One of them was dreadfully mangled : his arms  
 “ and shoulders were almost cut to pieces, so that his life  
 “ is despaired of.”

“ The above accounts, says the gentleman who furnished  
 me with them, are taken from my journal, written during  
 my tour to Africa. I put them down among other occur-  
 rences, more for employment than any other purpose.  
 Had I known that any nation of Europe would have done  
 themselves the honour of agitating the subject of the slave  
 trade, with a view to its abolition, I would have been more  
 particular, and I should have been enabled to have com-  
 pleted, by specifick instances, a most melancholy cata-  
 logue of human woe : what I have given you, rely upon,  
 and I will be ready on all occasions, *either in publick or*  
*private*, to appear to the truth of them, as well as to assert  
 (as far as my own observations have gone, and I have been  
 informed by others) that almost all the negroes that are  
 shipped from those parts of the coast which I have visited,  
 are procured by treachery and surprize.”

## ACCOUNT the SECOND.

“ While my vessel lay between the island of Goree and  
 “ the village of Dakàrd on the opposite continent, I had  
 “ an opportunity of seeing the method by which slaves in  
 “ those parts were generally procured. Scarce a night  
 “ passed, but the inhabitants of the village just mentioned,  
 “ went out for the purpose of making slaves. They went  
 “ usually from ten to fifteen in a party. They had all  
 “ of them their war-dresses on, and they were accustomed  
 “ to fall forth a little before dark. I have frequently  
 “ been in their huts the next day, and have seen two ne-  
 “ groes fastened together by their backs, the produce of  
 “ the excursion made the preceding night.”

“ I once expressed a wish, while lying in the place now  
 “ mentioned, to get a volunteer for my ship. In conse-  
 “ quence of it, a party from Dakàrd, totally without my  
 “ knowledge, went to a neighbouring village, and stole a  
 “ man. They brought him on board, but, as I did not  
 “ choose to encourage such depredations, I refused to keep  
 “ him.”

“ From my station at Goree, I proceeded to the River  
 “ Gambia, where I was unfortunate enough to express the  
 “ same wish as before. A young lad was accordingly  
 “ brought down to me for inspection. He had a basket  
 “ of onions upon his head. I disapproved of him, and he  
 “ went away. I was informed afterwards that he had  
 “ been seduced to the water’s edge, under pretence of  
 “ bringing his vegetables to a good market, and that if I  
 “ had approved of him, he would have been sold to me.”

“ Finding by the two instances now recited, that I  
 “ might innocently become the means of tearing some  
 “ unoffending people from their connexions, and of put-  
 “ ting them to considerable pain, I resolved to make no  
 “ farther declaration of my wants, but to go immediately  
 “ to the merchants or factors, and buy one for his Majes-  
 “ ty’s

“ ty’s service, who had already been procured. I accord-  
 “ ingly bought a young lad, in the same river, of about the  
 “ age of twelve. This lad came with me home, but died  
 “ afterwards at Sheernefs. As soon as he could be un-  
 “ derstood, he informed me of his history. He told me  
 “ that the village in which he lived, was attacked by rob-  
 “ bers in the night ; that the robbers came to his father’s  
 “ hut ; that his father was killed in opposing them ; that  
 “ his mother shared the same fate, but that he was taken ;  
 “ and that in the morning he found himself in a croud of  
 “ captives, all of them taken from the same village, and  
 “ in the same manner.”

### ACCOUNT the THIRD.

“ I was three years resident on the coast of Africa, end-  
 “ ing in 1788. It was my business to collect slaves. I  
 “ had, of course, often an opportunity of knowing in what  
 “ way they were obtained.

“ Several of them are stolen. For instance, while I  
 “ resided about the River Riopongos, a trader came down  
 “ from the inland country with slaves. I accordingly  
 “ purchased them. I told him that slaves were much  
 “ wanted. He went out with his party, and kidnapped  
 “ three. Having procured these for us immediately, he  
 “ returned with his people home, that he might bring  
 “ down more.

“ The Bullams frequently made expeditions, and, with-  
 “ out any other motive than that of getting money, attack  
 “ their neighbours in the night. The Timmaneys are  
 “ perhaps, from the greater frequency of the custom, more  
 “ notorious than the former. They go out in large par-  
 “ ties at dusk. They rush with violence into the huts of  
 “ those they intend to fall upon, and each selects his man.

“ There are other ways of procuring slaves. But it  
 “ may be safely said, that every little occurrence is made  
 “ subservient



“ subservient to the slave trade, and that the genius is rack-  
 “ ed to find out pretences to obtain the persons of men.  
 “ I will give you one instance out of many. A certain  
 “ negroe on the River Riopongos, pretended that his an-  
 “ cestors had had a grudge against the ancestors of another  
 “ negroe then resident there, who had a wife and six child-  
 “ ren. He accordingly went to the king, communicated  
 “ to him the nature of the grudge, and promised to give  
 “ him a certain number of bars, if he would adjudge the  
 “ whole family to slavery, in consideration of the trespass  
 “ or fault originally committed by his ancestor. The  
 “ king immediately accused the man, (for without an ac-  
 “ cusation he could not have sold him there) and he with his  
 “ family were condemned and delivered up to the person who  
 “ had bribed him. This person afterwards sold the whole  
 “ family to me. I thought no crime in purchasing them  
 “ at the time. We never refuse to purchase any, how-  
 “ ever unjustly we know them to have been taken.”

#### ACCOUNT the FOURTH.

“ There are various ways of getting slaves. Witch-  
 “ craft has no inconsiderable share in procuring them.  
 “ A great man pretends to be under its influence, and  
 “ accuses one who has a large family, knowing, that by  
 “ the conviction of the parent, he will often, according  
 “ to the laws of the country, be enabled to sell the whole.  
 “ No poor man, on the other hand, is allowed to have  
 “ these sensations, and he is of course incapable of accu-  
 “ sing any on that account. It is a method used by the  
 “ great to procure slaves, or in other words, to gratify  
 “ their own avaricious wants; and to the slave trade  
 “ alone is to be attributed its continuance. Hundreds of  
 “ innocent people have been consigned to misery by this  
 “ method.

“ Robbery is another considerable source of supplying  
 “ the slave trade: every man in Africa goes armed. I  
 “ say this from an experience of many years. His reason  
 “ is,

“ is, that he may not only defend himself from the wild  
 “ beasts, but from the sudden incursions of lurking  
 “ robbers.

“ I once saw an expedition from Kikbal. Thirteen of  
 “ the natives, with a desperate man at their head, got into  
 “ a canoe. At dusk they went up the river Sama, and  
 “ as the night was farther advanced, attacked a village.  
 “ One or two of the inhabitants, who had just time to  
 “ arm themselves when they heard the noise, fired upon  
 “ them as they were making a considerable sweep. Their  
 “ leader instantly fell. This threw the rest into such con-  
 “ sternation, that they fled with precipitation to their  
 “ canoe, and had only time to bring off a man and a  
 “ woman.

“ At another time I purchased thirty-three slaves, all  
 “ of whom had been taken in an expedition made from the  
 “ Turtle Islands up the River Sherbro the preceding  
 “ night. The slave trade is a very inhuman trade, and I  
 “ left it to embark in one in the natural productions of  
 “ Africa. I returned from my last voyage but at the  
 “ latter end of the year 1788.”

## ACCOUNT the FIFTH.

“ I had two opportunities of seeing how slaves were  
 “ procured in the River of Old Calabar. I resided with  
 “ the king of New Town for four months, and he allowed  
 “ me to go up the river with him to trade for slaves. I  
 “ went with him twice within that time. In the first ex-  
 “ pedition, there was a fleet consisting of from ten to  
 “ twelve canoes, which were properly manned and armed.  
 “ With this fleet we set out to trade. In the day time  
 “ we called at the villages as we passed, and purchased our  
 “ slaves fairly; but in the night we made several excur-  
 “ sions on the banks of the river. The canoes were usu-  
 “ ally left with an armed force: the rest, when landed,  
 “ broke into the villages, and, rushing into the huts of the  
 “ inhabitants,

“ inhabitants, seized men, women, and children promiscu-  
 “ ously. We obtained about fifty negroes in this man-  
 “ ner, in our first expedition.

“ In our second, the same practices were in force ; for  
 “ we traded fairly by day, and became robbers in the  
 “ night. We were more successful, in point of the num-  
 “ ber procured in the second, than in the first expedition.”

## ACCOUNT the SIXTH.

“ I was resident for seven months at a factory in Mos-  
 “ fula Bay, in the kingdom of Angola. I know of no  
 “ other way of making slaves there, than by robbery.  
 “ Our factory was supplied by four traders, one of whom,  
 “ with his party, was always out. These parties consist-  
 “ ed usually of forty or fifty in number. They were al-  
 “ ways armed when they went out. They *took no goods*  
 “ with them, but yet returned with *slaves*. Their time  
 “ of staying out was sometimes a month, and sometimes  
 “ less. It depended on circumstances, for if in a previous  
 “ expedition they had brought off a few from the skirts of  
 “ a town, they were obliged to go much farther for the  
 “ remainder the next. For the negroes, when so attack-  
 “ ed, immediately leave their habitations, and go farther  
 “ inland. They are continually in a wandering, uncer-  
 “ tain state, on account of these frequent depredations.

“ In the year 1787, I was lying at Cape Palmas. I  
 “ was told by the natives there, that they intended to at-  
 “ tack a village on the third night. I asked them if the  
 “ inhabitants had done them any injury. They replied,  
 “ no ; but that there was a considerable number of fine  
 “ stout young men belonging to it, who were *good for*  
 “ *trade*. This was their only reason. On the same day,  
 “ on the evening of which the attack was to commence,  
 “ I had occasion to go to another village, which was  
 “ within about two miles from that which was marked  
 “ for pillage, and lay in the same track. I slept at a tra-  
 “ der’s

“ der’s house that night. At about two in the morning  
 “ he awakened me to see the fire. I jumped up instantly  
 “ from a chest on which I lay, and saw the village in  
 “ flames. The next day more than fifty young men  
 “ were brought down, all of whom had been taken during  
 “ the conflagration.

“ In the year 1788, I was in the River Gaboon. I  
 “ went to a village at about a mile’s distance from the  
 “ river side. I happened to stay there till night, when I  
 “ requested the trader, (in whose hut I was) to conduct  
 “ me to another village, at the distance of half a mile  
 “ from the former. But no intreaties could avail ; for he  
 “ assured me, that there were so many robbers always  
 “ lurking in the night to catch men, that it was dange-  
 “ rous to stir out after dusk.”

It appears from the accounts now given, and it would appear more strongly were I to communicate others of a similar kind in my possession, that a very considerable number of the natives of Africa are annually taken from their country and connexions by means of treachery and surprise, and that the ties of consanguinity, love, and friendship, are violated in the prosecution of the trade. To descant but upon a single instance of the kind must be productive of pain to the ear of sensibility and freedom. Consider the sensations of the unhappy man, who is carried off by a ruffian that has been lurking to intercept him in the night. Separated from every thing which he esteems in life, without the possibility of bidding his friends adieu, behold him overwhelmed in tears—wringing his hands in despair—looking back upon the spot in which all his hopes and wishes lay—while his family at home are waiting for him with anxiety and suspense—are waiting, perhaps, for sustenance—are agitated between hope and fear—till length of absence confirm the latter, and they are immediately plunged into inconceivable misery and distress.

This, and other instances of a similar kind, are but so many instances of the *evils*, which I promised to enumerate,

rate, as experienced by the Africans in their own country in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade. That they are great and enormous evils, none of those, to whom I have the honour to address myself, will deny: nor will they hesitate instantly to pronounce, that they ought immediately to cease.

This brings me to the point. The evils in question, it is confessed, ought undoubtedly to cease. I ask how?—I am told that the event can be accomplished by means of the *Regulation* of the trade.

It must at once strike every reasonable person, that the regulation of the slave trade cannot be an efficient remedy for the evils complained of. Regulation implies *continuance* upon stated terms: and so *so long as the trade continues*, so long will there be temptations, and so long will the needy and avaricious embrace them, to obtain the persons of men.

This inference is consistent with common sense, and but a slight knowledge of human nature: there can be no difficulty in supposing, that wherever there is a market for the human species, many enormities will be there practised to seize the ignorant and unwary. The maxim is as true in fact, as it is in speculation. People formerly in the vicinity of Egypt and Cyprus, (which were the first known markets for slaves) as well as at a considerable distance round about these countries, were kidnapped to be carried there. It was so on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, and in the Archipelago afterwards. It was so, in short, through the whole of the ancient world. It is now the case in Madagascar, Arabia, and the East. Even in Great Britain a market is found for the human species, and people are fraudulently taken and conveyed to our Eastern colonies. The same market exists in Holland, and people are treacherously torn from their connexions, and sent to Batavia. By the accounts before recited, some of which reach nearly to the close of the year 1788, it appears, that the same practices are in force, in consequence

sequence of the market, on the coast of Africa. What unreasonableness then is there in supposing, that if the slave trade should still continue to be prosecuted in that part of the world, those enormities would not cease?

So much on the general idea of regulation, as it first strikes me. But I will be more particular. I will endeavour to realize what I first imagined. I will suppose a regulating bill, with specifick clauses, introduced into parliament, and I will apply it as a remedy for the evils mentioned.

There can be no difficulty in anticipating of what nature and operation such a bill must unavoidably be. In the first place it can have no authority, and will of course be null and void, as far as it prescribes or dictates to the Africans in their own country. Suppose it should contain the following clauses, "Be it henceforward inserted and enacted in the African codes of law, that he that stealeth a man shall surely die. And be it farther enacted, that the prince, who depopulates a village, for the purposes of the slave trade, shall immediately, on conviction, forfeit his crown." How ridiculous would be such a bill! It would contain the usurpation only of a power, which we could not exercise, and of a right, which would never be acknowledged.

Let us see then what it is that we can do in the present case, and that we can do justly. We have most undoubtedly a right to refuse to purchase, if we please, any of the commodities of Africa, or to purchase those only that we please, and of what description we please. This, I believe, is the sum of all we have a right to do. If any regulation then is to be adopted to heal the evils complained of, it can consist only in refusing to purchase those who are stolen, or are taken in an unjustifiable manner: for with the internal regulations of Africa we have no right, neither would the Africans suffer us, to intermeddle.

The regulating bill must be evidently then of the following kind. It might say, "And be it enacted from henceforward,  
that

that consuls shall be sent out to the Coast of Africa, to examine into the case of every slave, sold to every subject of the British nation, with power (and under certain penalties if they should fail to exercise that power) to interdict the purchase of every slave who shall appear to have been unlawfully or unjustly obtained." But alas! there are more than one hundred rivers on the coast, and many intermediate spaces between some of these, from which slaves are directly shipped. We must send therefore at least an hundred consuls to the coast of Africa, who shall be resident there at the same time, or we must restrict the trade to such narrow limits as would insure its abolition.

But, not to mention the expense of such an establishment, and the great probability of the immediate introduction of bribery and corruption, how could the consuls alluded to discharge their office? In the first place they would be ignorant of the language by which they could examine the slaves that would be brought down. To this it might be said, " Let them apply to the black traders " who offer them for sale." But I reply, that they might as well ask a thief, to tell them if he had stolen, or any unjust man to reveal the mysteries and iniquities of the calling by which he lives. I reply further, that several of the slaves come from the distance of twelve hundred or a thousand miles, with whose language the very traders themselves are *totally unacquainted*.

To this I might add many other obstacles, that present themselves. In some of the rivers, more noted for the trade than others, fifteen hundred or two thousand slaves are brought down in a day, one sixtieth of whom could never be examined in the time. I might add also, that the black traders themselves might refuse to admit our consuls to the examination of such slaves as were in their own repositories or houses, and the kings of Africa to suffer them to reside among them at all.

These then being insurmountable objections, there might be some, who would wish to substitute the following

ing clause. “ And be it enacted from henceforward, “ that in every vessel that sails to the coast of Africa for “ slaves, there shall be some officer who shall go out and “ return with the said vessel, and give on his return a “ certificate, upon oath, on the points hereafter to be “ mentioned.”

It is evident that one part of the objection to the former clause, namely (so far as the impracticability or non-permission of residence is concerned) is done away by the last. But the others still remain. The probability of the officer being bribed by the merchant at home, or by the trader upon the coast, or by the captain on the voyage, is an almost insuperable obstacle. The circumstance of language is never to be gotten over. If a ship were also to wait for a cargo of people, none of whom had been unjustly reduced to slavery, she would rot upon the coast, before she would be able to complete it, her crew would be dead, and her merchant ruined. There are many other considerations, that would render a regulation impracticable, nugatory, and absurd.

To recapitulate. Unless the British legislature can alter the passions and habits of men, and make human nature what it certainly is not ; unless they have a perfect and acknowledged dominion over the Africans, can exercise such dominion, and can alter the African codes of law at their own will : and unless additionally they can do things equally impossible with those now stated, so long will the very best regulations that human wisdom can devise, be totally inadequate to remove the evil, sustained by the Africans in their own country, in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade. But what evil is this existing in Africa, that cannot be remedied by any act of foreign states ? It is an evil, of all others the most flagitious, and of greater magnitude than those, which afterward occur, either in the prosecution of the trade, or in the colonial slavery. It is an evil, the parent and foundation of all other evils, by means of which every tie of love, consanguinity,



guinity, and friendship, is torn asunder, by means of which the pestilential dungeon presents itself afterwards on the passage, and the scourge and manacle in the land of slavery. It is that evil which first awakened the attention of the many benevolent opposers of the slave trade ; which first roused them into action ; and which will still, I hope (unless effectually cured) be uniformly opposed by them for the remainder of their lives.

The greatest then, and the most important of all the evils, which exist in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, can never be eradicated by *any regulation* that can be devised. Let us see if *abolition* would answer the purposed end.

That *abolition* would be effectual, will be evident, if we only follow the clue of reasoning already given to the reader, as far as it has been submitted to his view. In the first place, it appeared that regulation would be inadequate to heal the evils complained of, because, the *market still continuing*, the same temptations would also necessarily continue, and the needy and avaricious would of course be still ready to embrace them. On the abolition, on the other hand, those articles of European traffick, which had hitherto seduced the minds of the natives, would still act as *temptations* (not to make them go out and catch men, *for men would be no longer saleable*) but to spur them on to employ themselves in another way ; and the needy would be obliged to satisfy their wants, and the avaricious to gratify their appetites in another manner.

It appeared, secondly, that regulation would be inadequate, because the British legislature could not enforce such pains and penalties upon the violators of human liberty on the coast of Africa, as would deter them from the like practices again ; but the abolition taking place, all such pains and penalties would *be useless*. The unhappy natives were accustomed to be torn from their connexions, for the purpose of deriving an emolument from their *sale*.

But the *sale ceasing*, the motives for such depredations would perish with it, and the evil, for the prevention of which such pains and penalties would have been necessary, would also cease.

It appeared, thirdly, that regulation would be inadequate, because it would be morally impossible to examine most of the slaves that would be brought down, and to discover such as had been taken by treachery and surprize. But the abolition taking place, or, in other words, men *being no longer to be sold*, no more of them would be clandestinely taken, and an examination would be rendered unnecessary and vain.

It appears then, that an *abolition* of the slave trade would have the desired end, and that an abolition only would be effectual. It is probable, however, that the following objection may be made to what I have said. "You seem to have been reasoning on a supposition, that the rest of the nations of Europe would concur with the British, and that the abolition would be *general*. But suppose it otherwise, then the trade would be still pursued, and *not one less* of the inhabitants of Africa would be taken and sent into slavery." This objection is a very favourite argument on the other side of the question. I wish to be particular in expressing it. The term "*not one less*," has been invariably used on the occasion. I have heard it from the West-India merchant repeatedly. I have heard it from the planter. I have heard it from the dealer in human flesh. I have seen it in most of the publick prints, and I wish to record it as an instance of no little presumption in those who started, or those who have used it, that they should dare to hazard a calculation to the world, which they maintain to be accurate to an *unit*. To me, I confess, it will always be a matter of surprize, that they, who have never yet been accurate on any other point of the subject, should have been so particularly accurate on this.

In combating the objection, I will meet it fairly, and I hope to be able to shew, even on a supposition that we stand alone, that *more than one* of the natives of Africa would be annually saved by the abolition, and that the evil would be considerably abated, if not cease. In the term abolition, however, I include the three following particulars. 1st. That British ships and subjects be prohibited from employment in the slave trade. 2dly. That the reception of slaves into the British colonies be also prohibited. 3dly. That a new trade be immediately substituted on the coast of Africa, under the auspices and protection of government. These three particulars, if we should ever abolish the slave trade, are, I presume, inseparably connected with one another.

In the first place I must premise, that the number of slaves shipped from the coast of Africa, is nearly the same in one year as in another in the time of peace, or that, in such times, *there is in all years, with but little variation, the same regular demand.* To take one port for an example. The vessels belonging to it were fitted out.

In a time of profound peace, and before the expectation and commencement of the American war, viz. in the years	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 1770 \\ 1771 \\ 1772 \\ 1773 \end{array} \right\}$	for about	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 28,000 \\ 28,000 \\ 26,000 \\ 28,000 \end{array} \right\}$	slaves
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At a certain period of that war, viz. in the year	$\left\{ 1779 \right\}$	for about	$\left\{ 4,000 \right\}$	only
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In a time of peace, and after the close of that war, viz. in the years	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 1784 \\ 1785 \\ 1786 \\ 1787 \end{array} \right\}$	for about	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25,000 \\ 30,000 \\ 31,000 \\ 30,000 \end{array} \right\}$	slaves
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This statement shews us, first, that war makes a very considerable difference in the number of slaves annually taken from the coast of Africa, but, secondly, (which is the point I wished to be established) that *this number is nearly the same in one year as in another, in the time of peace.* But if this be actually the case; if the number of slaves, shipped in peaceable times, or the whole general demand by the French, Danes, Dutch, English, and others, is nearly annually the same, then it is evident, if the British government prohibit the reception of any into their own colonies, or if, in other words, *their proportion* of the whole general demand should cease there, that many thousand slaves, or *their proportionate share of them*, would be annually saved from European tyranny by the introduction of such a measure.

To shew this by a more specifick explanation. Let us suppose that the whole annual demand amounts in the time of peace to about *one hundred thousand* slaves, and that for the British colonies about *twenty thousand* of these are wanted. Then it follows that *eighty thousand* constitute the general annual demand for the rest of the European settlements, and that their colonists, having gotten these, want no more. What then would be the consequence, if slaves were refused admittance into the British colonies, but that *twenty thousand*, and (if other circumstances are included) more than *twenty thousand* of the natives of Africa, would annually cease to be brought down, and consigned to slavery?

But says one, "it is not improbable but that ships " would be fitted out by the people of other nations, to " carry those from the coast of Africa, which the British " formerly took." But—where would they carry them? The different European colonists having gotten their *eighty thousand*, or their annual number, the rest would be evidently superfluous, and no purchasers would be found. As a case in point, I will mention an instance that I see now lying upon my table. A certain vessel touched at Barbadoes in the month of June, 1788. She offered her  
 slaves

slaves for sale, but the Barbadians having gotten from other vessels their usual annual supply, there were *no planters to purchase them*. From Barbadoes she proceeded to St. Vincent's, hoping to find a market in that island. But the situation of the inhabitants there was the same with those of Barbadoes, and not *a single slave could be sold*. From St. Vincent's she went to Grenada. But the Grenadians having also been previously supplied, *none of them could be taken there*. It happened, however, that a Dutch planter from Demerary came to Grenada at the same time. This person, not having yet received the number for which he had an annual demand, purchased and took them away to his own quarter. So it would be with the rest of the Europeans conjointly, if the British government were, according to the sense restricted, to stop the trade. For having gotten their eighty thousand, or in other words, having completed their general annual demand, and having made their remittances accordingly, the *twenty thousand* formerly sent to the British colonies, would be superfluous, and for these no purchasers would be found.

But, says another, "However reasonable what you have said may appear, it is at best but conjecture; for that foreign planters would not purchase those whom the British formerly took, you cannot *positively* say." But I will meet this objector on his own terms. I will suppose, if possible, that foreign planters, having completed their number, would purchase more. What could be their inducement, or would follow, but that, the market being overdone by so prodigious a number as *twenty thousand*, the price of slaves must instantly fall? But if it were to fall, and if moreover it were to fall to that standard, to which according to the known fluctuations of commerce it inevitably must, it would be then ruinous to the merchant to pursue the trade, and things would return soon to their *former level*. This level would be the number eighty thousand, or that of their general annual demand.

Considering then the abolition in that extent of its meaning only, which hinders the reception of slaves into the British colonies, it follows that *many more than one* would be saved, or cease to be taken from their country by the enforcement of such a measure; namely those, in point of number, that were formerly landed there, those also who were shipped with the former, but died in the middle passage; and those additionally, who were killed in the depopulation of villages, or the skirmishes of parties to obtain them both. But if so many less would be brought from the coast, or destroyed than before, there would be so many more of the natives of Africa, by whom the evils existing in their own country in consequence of the slave trade would not be felt.

Let us now go to the next idea, that is included in the term abolition, namely, *the substitution* among the natives of Africa of another trade. By the word substitution, however, must be clearly understood such action or actions on our part, as should induce the natives not only to *receive the new intercourse* alluded to, but to *abandon the old*.

To substitute, in the sense determined, with any effect, it would clearly become us to make a settlement upon the sea coast, and on such a part of it as would be most favourable to the design; I do not mean, as formerly, in a piratical and unjust manner, but by means of purchase and in an honourable way. It would become us also to go prepared for the purpose, for without the adoption of certain principles it would be in vain to hope for success. Suppose then, that among others, we were to go with the three following determinations:—to give the natives all the encouragement in our power—to refuse to purchase a slave, as well as to hinder all others from purchasing within our own limits—and to propose and give an asylum to all such as should either feel themselves oppressed, or should have an inclination to live amongst us.—These determinations would be so far from impeaching our equity, as to do us honour, and we have only to suppose  
them

them to be made, to estimate the probability of succeeding in the execution of our design.

That the natives of Africa then, on any particular district to be selected, would receive the new trade, if built on the basis of *encouragement*, (which is the first principle mentioned) is evident, first, from reason, because they have the same perceptions as other people, are as sensible of their own interest, and have an enterprising and commercial spirit; and secondly, from experience, because no new trade has been pointed out to them, on the same basis, which they have not readily embraced.

That they would abandon the old, is deducible partly from the former paragraph, which concludes upon their reception of the new: for let us divide them into two classes, namely, into such as trade in the human species, and such as do not trade at all, but would be glad to embark in commerce, if they had the means of doing it; then it is evident, that by the introduction of the new trade on the one hand, and the reception of it on the other, some would be secured, others diverted, and others gained over from a connection with the old; and that every instance of addition to the one, and of diversion and defection from the other, if *founded on encouragement*, would contribute to spread such a flame of emulation, and to advance the point in such a ratio, as to afford us the most sanguine expectations.

But it is not encouragement alone, as insuring the reception of the new trade, that would contribute to the dereliction to be hoped for. The Africans have been long used to our commodities, so much so, as not easily to be able to do without them. Their wants, at the time of establishing the settlement, would be evidently as pressing and urgent for their accustomed gratification as before, but this gratification, in consequence of a closure of the avenues of the slave trade, could not be had as formerly. Driven then to considerable anxiety and pain, the refusal to purchase a slave, and the exclusion of others from doing

it within our own limits, (which is the second principle supposed) would contain in itself a sting, which would operate like the sting of necessity, to drive them into the completion of our design.

To see how the third principle would also operate, which would be the granting of an asylum to all such as should either feel themselves oppressed, or should have an inclination to live among us, I shall anticipate an objection, which might otherwise have been made here, namely, that the kings in the vicinity of the settlement (for these are principally benefited by the slave trade) could, if they pleased, gratify their wants in the usual way; that they could do this by sending their subjects, or others, by means of new and circuitous paths, to such more distant places upon the coast, where foreign vessels were known to come, but where the jurisdiction of the settlement did not reach: and that, irritated by the stoppage of the trade, they would adopt the measure.

Not to dwell upon the *difficulty* of opening new paths, and forming new connections, (both of which are included in the idea of establishing a new route) or upon *the length of time* it would take to do it, whilst their wants would be calling for *immediate* gratification, or upon *the instant decrease in the value of the slave trade*, both on account of new taxes to be paid to the kings, through whose territories their slaves would be marched down, as well as on account of the loss of them now and then by banditti, I will come immediately to the point. In Africa it is the *poor* man who is made the slave; who is accused of witchcraft, but who is suffered to have no such sensations of his own by which he can accuse another; who lives on account of the slave trade in perpetual anxiety and fear. In Africa it is, that a man is obliged to be constantly *armed*; that he has been taught from his infancy to prepare himself against the attempts of the robbers, who will be lurking to intercept his person, and to hurry it to sale. What a dreadful situation is this for an human being to be placed in? A situation, night and day, of continual apprehension



prehension and alarm. What reasonable being in such a state that would not even run the risk of his life to escape to a settlement, the members of which had offered him personal security and freedom. The third principle then, by which an asylum would be offered to all such as either felt themselves oppressed, or had an inclination to live among us, would operate two ways. It would operate either as a check upon the kings in the vicinity, to deter them from adopting the measure, or, in case of their adoption of it, to increase, by means of repeated defections, the number of the inhabitants of the settlement. In which-ever of these ways it operated, it would effectually answer the design.

If then we take into consideration *the power of want*, to drive them with its irresistible sting to a particular point; if we take into consideration also the *spur of encouragement* urging them on to the same goal, and the *prodigious and inestimable advantages* which the great bulk of the people in the vicinity of the settlement would derive from the change, it is evident, as far as common sense can anticipate, that the end proposed under the idea "substitution," would be obtained. But if the end were to be obtained, then it is equally clear that all those, who were annually accustomed to be sent into slavery from the vicinity of the settlement, would be saved from oppression, and that there would be one spot in Africa, in which it could be said, that the evils sustained by the natives in their own country, in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, were no more.

I have hitherto confined myself to a particular spot, which I conceived to be occupied by British colonists for the purpose of substituting another trade. But as the subject is of importance, and as something else may be added, which is not wholly impertinent, I must trespass a little longer on the time of my readers, to inquire what would be the effect of our relinquishing of the slave trade in such other parts of the coast of Africa, upon which we should have no influence, but upon which others would, by continuing to go for slaves.

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My reasoning on this topick shall be founded on a very favourite argument of the dealers in human flesh, namely, "that if the *British* abolished the slave trade, the great competition would cease, and slaves would become cheap;" by which they would have us understand, that we should be giving an advantage to foreign nations.

To begin the inquiry. The slaves, who would come down to foreigners for sale, would be evidently then, as now, of the three following descriptions, namely, such as would come from the remote interior parts, such as would come from the vicinity of the sea shore, and such as would come from the intermediate interior parts between them. With respect to those of the first description, no alteration could take place in their price. They would be to be brought from a prodigious distance, as before. They must be to be supported in travelling for many moons, which sustenance or support would cost something. They would also have to pay their tribute to each of the various petty kings, through whose territories they would be suffered to pass. From these circumstances therefore, as well as others that might be mentioned, they could not be sold cheaper than at their present rate. But if the competition were to cease, as it evidently would, and if the price of slaves were to fall, as the slave merchants strenuously contend, and as I readily allow, nothing is more evident, than that slaves would cease to be brought from the remote interior parts. But if it would not be worth the while of the respective parties to bring them from thence, then would so many be additionally saved, and then of course would the evils, experienced by the Africans in these inland parts in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, cease to continue there.

With respect to those who would be reduced to slavery, either on, or in the vicinity of, the coast, the same argument will hold. For if slaves were to become cheaper, it would be less worth the while of the black traders to deal in the human species, or, on the other hand, more worth their while to trade in another way. But if this were the  
case

case either on, or in the vicinity of, the coast, much more would it be so in the interior intermediate parts, several places in which would be at such a considerable distance from the sea, as to make the slaves, brought from thence, chargeable with a great proportion of the expenses unavoidably attending those of the first description; so that in any spot we might select, or in any with which we might afterwards have no connexion, our conduct in the abolition of the slave trade would have its influence.

To wind up the argument. It has appeared, first, that if the English were to hinder the reception of slaves into their own colonies (which is one of the ideas included in the abolition of the slave trade) many of the natives of Africa would annually cease to be interrupted, or taken from their own country, namely, all such (in point of number) as were formerly landed there; all such as were shipped with these, but died on the coast or the middle passage; and all such as were killed in the depopulation of villages, or the skirmishes of parties or individuals to obtain them both.

It has appeared secondly, that if the English were to endeavour to substitute another trade among the natives of the same continent (an idea which is also included in the term abolition) there would be one spot at least, namely, in the vicinity of their settlement, from whence all those (in point of number) would annually cease to be taken, who were formerly sent into slavery from that quarter.

It has appeared thirdly, from an argument constantly in use on the other side of the question, that numbers would also annually cease to be brought down from the inward parts, independently of the consideration that it would be less worth the while of the traders of Africa, in any part of it whatever, to deal in the human species.

Now, if common sense is allowed to arbitrate in the matter, no argument can be more false than that which states, that if the English were to abolish the slave trade,  
and

and to abolish it alone, not one less of the natives of Africa would be taken and sent into foreign slavery. But, if the argument be false, then (to return to the main point) would many thousands be annually added to the natives of that continent, among whom the evils, existing in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, would be utterly unknown.

Having now very diffusively considered the first evil resulting from the slave trade, and with equal, I fear, tediousness and prolixity applied to them the two bills of regulation and abolition respectively as a cure, it appears that the former (whatever clauses human ingenuity could suggest) would be *totally inadequate* to its removal; whereas the latter would *not only effectually remove it* in certain parts of the continent of Africa, but *would also have an influence* in such, as might be resorted to by others who had no compunction at its continuance. I shall now only propose the following question. “Is it likely that the planters of foreign nations would see those of the British saving the money formerly expended in the purchase of slaves, cultivating also the cane at a cheaper rate, and underselling them in its produce at such of the markets of Europe where the inhabitants are incapable of supplying themselves, or that certain foreign governments would behold that of the British laying the foundation of a *new marine*, of a *new revenue*, and of a *new and inexhaustible mart* for the *manufactures* of its subjects, and not follow the example?”

## SECTION II.

Having taken into consideration the evils experienced by the Africans, or the *objects of the trade* in their first situation, namely, *in their own country*, I come now to those, which they experience in their *second*, or *on the Middle Passage*.

That there are evils, which they additionally experience during the transportation, will be evident from the following accounts, taken in the order, in which they are submitted to the publick, from the papers of those gentlemen, who were so good as to furnish me with their evidence upon that subject.

## ACCOUNT THE FIRST.

“ The misery, which the slaves endure in consequence  
 “ of too close a stowage, is not easily to be described.  
 “ I have heard them frequently complaining of heat, and  
 “ have seen them fainting, and almost dying for want of  
 “ water. Their situation is worst in rainy weather. We  
 “ do every thing for them in our power. In all the  
 “ vessels in which I sailed in the slave-trade, we never  
 “ covered the gratings with a tarpawling, but made a  
 “ tarpawling awning over the booms. Notwithstanding  
 “ which, I have seen the slaves after a rain, panting for  
 “ breath, and in such a situation, that the seamen have  
 “ been obliged to get them immediately upon deck,  
 “ fearing lest they would otherwise have fainted away,  
 “ and died. In one of my voyages, which was particularly  
 “ unhealthy, we have found eight or ten dead in a  
 “ morning. In the ————— we purchased 350 slaves,  
 “ and buried 6; in a second voyage, in the same ship,  
 “ we purchased 350, and buried 200; and in the ———  
 “ we purchased about 370, and buried about 100.”

## ACCOUNT THE SECOND.

“ The slaves frequently complain of heat on a calm  
 “ night, but much more so when it rains, as we are then  
 “ obliged to spread a tarpawling over them; and not-  
 “ withstanding that it is kept at a considerable height  
 “ from the gratings by means of a ridge rope, and  
 “ stretched out by means of nettles to give them every  
 “ advantage in point of air, they are still in a miserable  
 “ state. I have been in their rooms to see them on these  
 “ occasions, and have found them in a violent perspira-  
 “ tion. I have wiped them with cloths myself, and have  
 “ seen that others have wiped them also. I have no  
 “ doubt but that in full slave-vessels their sufferings must  
 “ be inconceivably great. In the ——— we purchased  
 “ about 700 slaves, and lost 250. In the ship ——— we  
 “ purchased about 300, out of which we buried about  
 “ 17. In the sloop ——— 25 were bought, and 2  
 “ buried. In the ——— we bought 180, and lost about  
 “ 25. In the ——— 350 were purchased, and 25 were  
 “ lost as before. In the ——— about 500 were  
 “ purchased, and 150 buried; and out of 250 bought in  
 “ the ———, 5 died.”

## ACCOUNT THE THIRD.

“ The slaves complain much of heat, and sweat so,  
 “ when confined below, that their rooms are as wet as if  
 “ water had been thrown over them, and any one, who  
 “ goes below, finds himself presently covered with it. —  
 “ Their worst situation, or at least as bad as any, is in  
 “ the rainy seasons, for then they are covered over with  
 “ a tarpawling, but as we study their health, it is laid  
 “ over a pole fixed at the height of about four feet above  
 “ the middle of the gratings, so as to hang down like the  
 “ ridge of an house. When they are sick, they are much  
 “ to be pitied. They lie on the bare boards. Such of  
 “ them as can creep upon deck from the hospital, which

“ is in the fore part of the ship, come up in the morning.  
 “ Such as are not able to clear themselves, lie in their  
 “ own filth, till assistance comes. Such as are so ill as  
 “ not to bear a removal, have the dirt scraped up around  
 “ them, and lie till they are better, or expire. I was in  
 “ two French, and also in two English Guineamen. In  
 “ the first of the former description from Bourdeaux, we  
 “ purchased about 500 slaves, and buried about 200. In  
 “ the second, from Brest, we purchased about 400, and  
 “ lost 20. In the ———, of London, 370 were  
 “ bought, and 50 lost. In the ———, an old man of  
 “ war, 1115 were purchased upon the Coast, and 845  
 “ were buried.”

It appears, from the above accounts, that there are two evils experienced by the Africans *on the Middle Passage*, in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade: the one, *inconceivable pain and agony*, arising from heat and confinement; the other, *a loss of life* from the same causes. These causes are ultimately resolvable into one, namely, the closeness of their stowage. Were I to bring \* a farther proof of the existence of these evils, I would appeal to the evidence of the Liverpool delegates, during the last sessions of parliament, from which it appeared first, that a slave had not sufficient room to lie upon his back on the Middle Passage; and secondly, on a calculation made, that if people were to die in the same proportion as slaves during their transportation, the whole human race would be extinct in the space of ten years.

These evils then being of a very serious nature, (for those who survive the voyage must have exquisitely suffered, and those who do not, must have been by inches *murdered*,) it will be confessed by all those, to whom I  
 address

\* The evil complained of in the former section being as it were the parent and foundation of the rest, I thought it necessary to bring the accounts of no less than six gentlemen, in proof of its existence—With respect to the existence of the rest, I shall confine myself to three, being unwilling to trespass unnecessarily upon the time of my readers.

address myself, that they ought immediately to be removed; and that as the closeness of the stowage is the ultimate cause of them, such room should at least be allowed the slaves, as would make them comfortable on their passage, and prevent the loss of life.

These being but reasonable data to proceed upon, let us now, as before, apply to the bill, which I anticipated to be brought into parliament for the regulation of the slave trade, as a cure.

In the first place it is evident, that the clauses of that branch of the bill, which relates to the present point, must consider the *stowage* as the foundation to go upon for a remedy to the evils complained of, and that they must apportion it to the tonnage of the vessel, or some other given standard, in such a manner, as will ensure their removal. It will be therefore only necessary to inquire how it may be so apportioned, as to answer the purposed end.

To attempt to investigate what ought to be the proper proportion on this occasion, would be presumptuous in me, when a case, so similar in its principle, occurs. I allude to the stowage of the convicts for Botany Bay; and I think no unreasonable person will object, unless that I may too much dishonour the Africans, if I put them upon the same scale.

\* The gentleman, to whom the stowage of these unfortunate people was referred, went upon two data, namely, to render their situation only comfortable, and to preserve their lives. The result of his deliberation upon these principles was, that there ought not to be less than *two tons to each person*. Having given this his opinion, he had the satisfaction to find it approved of, and put in force. It would be unpardonable not to add, that his opinion was the result of the first rate nautical knowledge



in that line : that it was formed with deliberation, care, and conscientiousness ; and that it will ever have this decided superiority over any other that may be now formed in a similar case in the African trade, that it was made at an interval of *impartiality*, and at a time when that subject could not have warped the judgment either one way or the other by an allusion to this particular.

Having now found out a rule, let us see, before we apply it, in what particular points the cases agree or differ. In the first place, the objects in both of them are *men*. So far they tally. In the second, one of the parties under consideration are *convicts*, whereas in the other there are at any rate *many innocent men*. So far they differ. But the grand difference, and that only about which any dispute can arise, is in the length of their respective passages. Suppose then, that the slaves, hereafter to be transported, should have half a ton less for each person on this account ; then, if we go upon the two data before mentioned, (and any other humanity forbids) the anticipated bill must allow *one ton and an half* to every slave upon his passage.

This being the case, let us apply to the bill of regulation, as containing the following clause of amendment in this ratio.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that no vessel,  
“ sailing from any port in the dominions of Great Bri-  
“ tain, have on board at any one time more than in the  
“ proportion of one full grown slave to\*every one ton and  
“ an half, according to the register of the said vessel ; or  
“ more boys and girls, (according to the standard here-  
“ after to be mentioned) than in the same proportion.”

\* The passage from Great Britain to the West Indies is made in the same time as the Middle Passage. Troops, in the former case, have two tons to one man. But half of them sleep below at a time. Hence every soldier has room to sleep in at the rate of four tons per man. Besides this, they can go on deck when they please, and are not fettered. Their situation, notwithstanding, has never been judged very comfortable:

But it is impossible to regulate the stowage in this proportion, *without abolishing the trade*: for if, by the unanimous consent of the Liverpool delegates at the bar of the House of Commons, a regulation of \* *but one ton to one person* would *destroy* it, how much more would that in the ratio proposed effect its abolition? All regulations, therefore, in this point, will be found futile and inefficient: for if the trade is to exist, there cannot be allowed, in the opinion of our opponents, *one ton to one slave*; but if it should be continued with *less than a ton to a slave*, then will not those miseries, nor that mortality, be removed, which, in conjunction with other evils, have occasioned, and will still continue to occasion, an opposition to the existence of the slave trade.

That the bill of *abolition* would be effectual, is evident at the first sight, because, in consequence of it, the evils complained of would be no more.

\* See Extracts from the Evidence of the Liverpool Delegates, and their Council at the bar of the House of Commons, in the Preliminaries of this Essay.

## S E C T I O N III.

The evils experienced by the Africans in their first and second situation, in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, having been fully examined, and dwelt upon according to the plan proposed, those only remain for consideration which they experience in their *third*, or in *the colonies* from the same cause.

The nature of these evils will be seen from the accounts that follow.

## A C C O U N T the F I R S T.

As given by the RELATOR.

“ The treatment, which the slaves experience in the  
 “ British sugar colonies, is very severe and degrading,  
 “ and is a matter of just complaint, inasmuch as they are  
 “ beaten arbitrarily by those who are set over them, and  
 “ their punishment is severe for but trifling faults.”

“ With respect to their ordinary punishments, and their  
 “ treatment, I shall mention the following particulars.  
 “ The wharfs of Kingston are crowded every Monday  
 “ morning with poor slaves, who are brought there to be  
 “ whipped for the offences of the preceding week.—They  
 “ are generally tied up by the wrists, and stretched out in  
 “ that manner they receive their punishment.”

“ I have often seen them at work with logs of wood  
 “ made fast to them, and with iron hooks about their  
 “ necks, but what their offences were, that merited such  
 “ punishment, I cannot say. I assert, that the slaves in  
 “ the West India Islands, that is, Jamaica and Tobago,  
 “ are very cruelly used. I have seen them with scars on  
 “ their backs, occasioned by whipping, which no time  
 “ could erase. I have seen them with their ears cut off,

“ and their persons otherwise mutilated, but particularly  
 “ in the vicinity of Kingston, and, in both islands, the  
 “ sound of the whip is continually in the ears of those  
 “ who live there.”

## ACCOUNT the SECOND.

“ I have seen four or five negroe boys and girls tied up  
 “ by their hands to the rams-horns of a crane, and by  
 “ means of the machine lifted from the ground. Their  
 “ whole weight was suspended by their wrists. In this  
 “ situation they were flogged with a bush of black ebony,  
 “ which has ten times more prickles upon it than the  
 “ green thorn bush of this country. The blood issued  
 “ at every stroke, and to increase the pain, the bush was  
 “ previously dipped into salt water.”

“ I once saw a very fine young woman in the island of  
 “ Barbadoes, for a very slight offence to her mistress,  
 “ stretched out with her belly on the ground, and quite  
 “ naked, receive thirty-nine lashes. Every cut of the  
 “ whip fetched blood from her flesh.”

“ At another time I was on a visit at a plantation in  
 “ Grenada, upon which were several slaves whom I had  
 “ brought from Africa, and among these an old woman  
 “ and three daughters. On inquiry for them, I was  
 “ much surprised to hear that they were at work in the  
 “ field, as I had not sold them more than three days be-  
 “ fore. Upon this I walked out to see them before din-  
 “ ner. When I entered the field, I discovered the old  
 “ woman at work with her hoe, who no sooner saw than  
 “ she ran to meet me, and out of joyfulness seized my  
 “ hand. I inquired of her what had become of her  
 “ daughters. She pointed them out at work, when one  
 “ of them, of the age of ten or eleven, happening to  
 “ turn her head on one side, and to see us together, im-  
 “ mediately left her work, and ran to join us. The  
 “ overseer, finding her running off, and directing her  
 “ steps

“ steps to me, ran after her. He had time however to  
 “ take up a large clot of earth and to throw it at her, as  
 “ she was running. It unfortunately hit her between  
 “ the shoulders, and brought her to the ground. He  
 “ came up to her before she was able to rise, and beat  
 “ her, as she lay with her face upon the earth, in the  
 “ most unmerciful manner with a cow-skin. I imme-  
 “ diately ran to the spot, and stopped his arm, exclaiming  
 “ at the same time against his cruel behaviour. He  
 “ apologized by saying, that it would be *impossible* to  
 “ carry on the business of the plantation, in which were  
 “ upwards of *two hundred* negroes, and only *three white*  
 “ *men*, unless he was *strict and severe on every occasion*.”

### ACCOUNT the THIRD.

“ It is customary to see some of the slaves in the West  
 “ Indies at work in chains. Others are obliged to drag  
 “ after them a log of wood, and, notwithstanding the  
 “ weight of it, to keep up with the rest of the gang ;  
 “ while others, who have run away, are distinguished  
 “ with iron collars on their necks, and large triangles  
 “ riveted on the outside of them, spreading out about  
 “ two feet. These triangles are of iron, and have a  
 “ similar appearance to those put upon the necks of  
 “ swine, to prevent them from breaking hedges, and  
 “ straying in the fields at large. The weight of the  
 “ whole may be from ten to twelve pounds.”

“ With respect to punishment for omission, laziness,  
 “ or neglect, it is arbitrary. I have frequently seen them  
 “ flogged with a long-lashed whip, and for no other  
 “ reason than because they were thought to be slow in  
 “ their work. The overseer does as he pleases.”

“ With respect to what are called regular punishments,  
 “ there is a person called a Jumper, who calls at people’s  
 “ houses to know if they have any slaves to be flogged,  
 “ and who gets his living by this employment. The  
 “ slaves,

“ slaves, who are marked for punishment, are flogged in  
 “ different ways. They are sometimes stretched out with  
 “ their bellies on the ground. In this case there are four  
 “ negroes to hold them, one at each hand and foot. In  
 “ this posture the whip is applied to their backs. At other  
 “ times their hands are fastened, by means of irons, to a  
 “ kind of gallows. They are suspended there for a while,  
 “ when a heavy weight is tied to their feet to prevent  
 “ them from springing up. Confined in this manner,  
 “ they receive the lash. The whip generally takes out a  
 “ piece of flesh at every stroke. To make the punish-  
 “ ment more severe, the jumper, having cut the slave on  
 “ one side of the back, changes sides in order to cross and  
 “ chequer it. When this operation is over, the slave is  
 “ again flogged, but in another way. This is done with a  
 “ switch of ebony, the prickles of which open any bruises  
 “ that may have been made on the back, and let out the  
 “ congealed blood. The back is afterwards pickled. I  
 “ have repeatedly seen these punishments both in Antigua,  
 “ St. Christopher’s, and Jamaica, and they are so com-  
 “ mon, and so severely inflicted, that it is impossible to go  
 “ among a group of slaves, without seeing a great part  
 “ of them, whose backs are chequered with the lash.”

From the above accounts the nature of the evils, which the Africans are made to endure in their third situation or in the British colonies, is but too apparent. Their *third* situation is evidently but a state of additional pain and sorrow. A state of much corporal suffering, continual dread, and the most degrading submission. A state, in which men are considered as brutes, but treated with less compassion. A state, in which Providence never designed any of his rational creatures to be placed, and under which human nature groans.

To remove these evils then, (for no one would deny that they were intolerable evils, if he were to be sentenced to undergo them) let us apply to the anticipated *Bill of Regulation* as before.

It is evident, first, that if a bill is to be actually introduced into parliament for the purpose of removing the evils now complained of, it should contain such clauses, as will be adequate to the purposed end. It is evident, secondly, that, to know what clauses would be adequate, some inquiry should take place, and that no inquiry would be likely to be attended with success, but such as should be made concerning the source or origin from whence they spring. This being the case, I shall state one or two of the causes of the existence of that branch of the evils now mentioned, for from hence the nature of the clauses, that are to cure them, will immediately appear.

Several of the Africans, who are taken to the British colonies, have lived in their own country, previously to their transportation, a life of indolence and ease. All such, it may easily be supposed, can have but little inclination to labour, and much less to labour for the luxury and support of others. Unaccustomed also to toil, the task must be additionally burthen some and intolerable. Hence one of the causes of the necessity of the lash.

It must be obvious also, that several of them have been torn from their connexions, and sent into slavery. The remembrance of these must be painful. It must generate the sigh, awaken discontent, and, when they consider *on whose account* they have been torn from all that is dear to them, occasion immediate disgust to their masters, which must terminate in revenge. The reflexion upon their comparative situation in the colonies and at home must tend also to widen the breach. The thought of their number too, compared with those of their enslavers, must favour their idea of revenge, as it must heighten their probability of success; and hence another cause of that discipline in the colonies, which is deservedly called oppression.

Now, to come to the point, and to remedy the evils sustained by the Africans in their *third situation*, as arising from these sources, it is obvious that the two following

clauses must be made, (and that the *two following only*, however ridiculous they may appear, can be effectual) if a remedy be actually sought for.

“ Be it enacted from henceforward, that the man, who  
 “ has never laboured at all, but has led a life of indolence  
 “ and ease, shall immediately have an inclination to  
 “ labour, but particularly for the benefit of those, whom  
 “ he has never seen, and for whom he has no regard.”

“ And be it farther enacted from henceforward, that  
 “ the man who has received an injury, shall have no  
 “ emotions of revenge or sorrow on that account, but  
 “ that he shall be perfectly pleased with those, who have  
 “ done it, and those who have occasioned it to be done.”\*

Now, if the British Parliament have such a power over the human heart and habit as to enact such clauses as the foregoing, and to enforce them, then that branch of the evils complained of, as existing in the colonies, will immediately be no more : for the Africans will then work without the necessity of the lash, nor will any extraordinary means be necessary to keep them in subjection. But if the British parliament, on the other hand, have no such power, then will *all regulation whatever* be ineffectual. For if the slave trade is to be regulated, it is evidently to *exist*. So long as it exists, so long will Africans of both the descriptions mentioned continue to be brought from their country, and so long as they continue to be brought from thence, and sent into slavery, so long will there be found among them an aversion from labour, and a spirit of revenge, and so long will a system of severe discipline be necessarily continued, or, in other words, *those evils sustained by the Africans in their third situation, or in the colonies, which among others have so justly excited the interposition of the publick to remove them, will not cease.*

\* I am sorry to be obliged, on a grave subject, to make use of clauses that carry with them the appearance of ridicule, but none other can be imagined.



It is clear then, that the anticipated Bill of *Regulation* can be of no avail in the present case. The Bill of *Abolition*, on the other hand, would not only hinder those of the Africans from experiencing the evils complained of, who, if the trade had continued, would have been imported into the colonies, but would in some points lighten the burthen of those already there; and, when these were extinct, it would be found to have had the effect of introducing a system of lenity instead of oppression, inasmuch as the then labourers having been brought up from their infancy to labour, having been born in the islands, having never been torn from their relatives and connexions, but, on the other hand, living among them, and having never known any but a state of subjugation, the former system of discipline would be useless, and would necessarily cease.

### C H A P. III.

Having fully considered the *first division* of the evils, sustained by the Africans, or the *objects of the trade*, in their three several situations, as I at first premised, I come to the *second*, which comprehends such as are experienced by those *who are employed in it*. I mean the *Seamen*.

In this division of evils are comprehended *six*, according as we consider the sufferings of this description of people, and the consequences resulting from them under the heads of *lodging, diet, treatment, pay, loss* while in the service of their respective vessels, and *loss* after their discharge in the colonies. I shall take two of these evils at a time in a distinct section. I shall shew in what they consist, and, then applying to them the two Bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition*, as before, see which of them is likely to effect a cure.

## S E C T. I.

The first and second evils then which the seamen experience, who are employed in the slave trade, may be included under the words *lodging* and *diet*. That there are evils of this description, that call aloud for an immediate remedy, will be obvious, if any credit is to be paid to the three following disinterested accounts.

## ACCOUNT the FIRST.

“ One hardship which the seamen experience in the  
 “ slave trade is a want of shelter. They are never ad-  
 “ mitted on any pretence between decks. They are  
 “ obliged to sleep in the tops, or in the long-boat, or  
 “ wherever they can get, except under the booms, and  
 “ this without covering\*, and in the cold. If they become  
 “ sick in consequence of it, no care is taken of them, no  
 “ spirits allowed to refresh them, no more shelter than  
 “ before, but they are perhaps beaten for their laziness.”

\* It may be said by some, that there is a tarpawling awning over the booms, which ought to be considered as a shelter, for that under this shelter the seamen can put their heads, and that some of them often sleep. To this may be given the following reply.—1st. That when it is used, it affords but little shelter, for in consequence of the sun and rain, it is generally cracked and in holes before they leave the coast.—2d. That when it is used, it is used for the benefit, not of the seamen, but of the slaves, for, first, it is intended to prevent the rain, as much as it can, from getting through the gratings below, and, secondly, if any of the seamen sleep under it at this particular time, they are obliged to lie in the noxious steam and effluvia rising up to them from the slaves, which has a worse effect upon their constitutions, than were they to sleep in the open air.—3d. That it is used but seldom in the course of the passage, for, in the first place, it cannot be used, when the vessel is on a wind, for it would interfere with the working of the main-sail; secondly, it cannot be used when it blows hard, as the wind would shiver it to pieces, and it is therefore obliged, upon such occasions, to be furled up: thirdly, if it rains and blows, even though it is intended as a shelter against the rain, it cannot be used for the same reason. It is then but in one season, namely, in calm weather and rain only, that it can be used at all.

“ Nor

“ Nor are they worse used in point of provisions. While  
 “ they are at home, and in port, they have plenty to eat  
 “ and drink, but are very soon afterwards put to allowance.  
 “ In the ———, as well as in the ———, they were  
 “ allowed but 5lb. of bread per week, and the little beef  
 “ that was given them, was either excessively bad in itself,  
 “ or damaged. They had neither pease nor flour.”

## ACCOUNT the SECOND.

“ Among the hardships endured by the seamen in the  
 “ slave trade is a want of shelter. They are never per-  
 “ mitted to sleep between decks till the slaves are sold, so  
 “ that during this space of time which includes their stay  
 “ upon the coast and the Middle Passage, they are exposed  
 “ both night and day. What added to the misery of the  
 “ people on board the ——— was, that the Captain threw  
 “ all their bedding overboard, while upon the coast, so  
 “ that they had nothing but the bare decks to lie upon,  
 “ till they arrived at the port of delivery.”

“ They suffer also exceedingly in point of provisions.  
 “ In the ———, and in the ———, the allowance was  
 “ sometimes 3lb. and at other times 4lb. of bread per  
 “ week to each man, and half a pound of damaged salt  
 “ beef per day. Hungry or not, this was their only  
 “ allowance.”

“ When sick, they had nothing to comfort them, nei-  
 “ ther wine nor spirits, so far otherwise, that they fared  
 “ worse than formerly. The small allowance before given  
 “ them was then taken away, the surgeon saying, ‘ that  
 “ this was the only method to cure them.’ On these  
 “ occasions, instead of nourishment and comfort, they  
 “ were frequently beaten, and when unable to crawl out  
 “ of their tyrant’s way, they were kicked about, the  
 “ ruffians generally pouring out the most horrid execra-  
 “ tions upon them at the same time.”

## ACCOUNT the THIRD.

“ No seaman whatever, in all the ten voyages alluded to, had any shelter or place of retreat in which he could put his head, during the whole of the Middle Passage, but every one of them was exposed night and day to the inclemency of the weather.”

“ The provisions on board the slave vessels are not only bad or damaged, but are dealt out so sparingly, that the crews are often put to great pain on account of the calls of hunger. The very largest allowance given to each man in the course of the ten voyages, was such a small quantity of damaged beef or pork, as when boiled amounted to but *four* ounces per day, and of bread *five* pounds per week. The smallest was three pounds of bread per week, and the same quantity of damaged beef or pork, as before mentioned, per day.”

It appears from the Accounts just given, that the evils complained of under the heads of *lodging* and *diet*, are not imaginary, but that they are substantial and great. To be exposed day and night for some months to the inclemency of the weather, and to be labouring under the pangs of hunger, are evils to those who endure them. They are evils, because the state of those who endure them is a state of bodily pain; because some of them die in consequence, and die a lingering and agonizing death; and because some of those who survive, have their constitutions ruined and disorders entailed upon them, which render their lives a burthen to themselves, and them a burthen to others.

This being the case, let us apply to that part of the anticipated Bill of Regulation which must take cognizance of this branch of the subject, for a cure.

But the question is, “ of what nature ought the clauses of the anticipated bill to be to answer the wished-for end ? ”—I reply, that the nature of them is self-evident.  
The

The sailer, who is to be exposed to tornadoes and frequent and heavy rains, requires as much shelter at least as the sailor who is not to be exposed to the one, and is only to be exposed to the other in a moderate degree. The sailor who goes to Guinea, can eat as much as the sailor in any other employ, and requires as much wholesome support. But the sailor, who woods and waters in Africa, who works up to his knees, and frequently up to his breast in swamps, who is out in an open boat for a fortnight at a time, and who is subjected on board to the stench and disorders of a number of miserable beings confined in a narrow space, requires a greater portion of nourishment than the sailor in other trades.

It is easy then to discover what must be the nature of the clauses of the *Regulating Bill*, which are to cure the two evils that have been explained.

With respect to the first, or the evil experienced in the present *lodging* of seamen in the slave trade, it is evident first, that the space allotted them must be between decks, as no place above can be deemed a sufficient shelter; secondly, that the space must be in the after-part of the ship, first, for security against the slaves, and secondly for the working of the vessel. And, 3dly, that their apartment must be so constructed, that the foul air coming from the room of the slaves may be excluded, and the fresh received. Upon these then, and other data, we may expect to find the following clause in the anticipated *Bill of Regulation*.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that in every  
 “ vessel sailing to the Coast of Africa for slaves, one-tenth  
 “ of the range of the lower deck be appropriated to the  
 “ seamen, and not to be infringed upon under certain  
 “ penalties, hereafter to be named, situated in \* frigate-built  
 “ vessels before the gun room, and in galley-built vessels  
 “ before the store-room and Captain’s cabin. And be it

\* In frigate-built vessels the officers to sleep above the seamen under the half-deck.

“ farther

“ farther enacted, that the said room be scuttled at the  
 “ top, and in the sides, and that a close bulk-head be made  
 “ between it and the room of the women slaves of the  
 “ thickness and materials hereafter to be named.”

Now this regulation, if the health of men is of any consequence to them in life, or if the lives of seamen are valuable to themselves or to their country, ought immediately to be put in force. But mark the consequences. By taking a tenth part of the range of the lower deck for the seamen, you turn out a tenth part of the slaves. By turning out a tenth part of the slaves, you lower the proportion of the number of them to be carried to the tonnage of the vessel, and by reducing the proportion to the tonnage, you are making, by the confession of the Liverpool delegates, a clause that has a tendency to *destroy* the trade.

With respect to the second, or the evil comprized in the word *diet*, the following clause may be expected to be found.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that there  
 “ shall be an inspector at each of the slave ports belonging  
 “ to his Majesty’s dominions, whose office it shall be to  
 “ see that sound and wholesome provisions be put on board  
 “ the different vessels sailing from thence for slaves, that  
 “ a sufficient quantity also be put on board them at a rate  
 “ per man, and for a time, hereafter to be named; and  
 “ that a certain portion of wine and spirits be taken  
 “ also, for the use of those who are to be employed in  
 “ boats for a length of time from the ships, for those  
 “ who are to wood and water, and for those who are  
 “ sick. And be it farther enacted, that the Captains, or  
 “ other officers, of the above vessels, receive a certificate  
 “ from the said officer, of the quantity put on board,  
 “ and that they deliver to another officer, to be ap-  
 “ pointed at the port of delivery, the certificate before  
 “ received, whose office it shall be to examine the said  
 “ certificate, to take an account of the different articles  
 “ before

“ before mentioned that are brought in, to require an  
 “ account of the expenditure of such as do not appear,  
 “ and to report the same; and that certain pains and  
 “ penalties, hereafter to be named, be annexed to non-  
 “ compliance on either side.”

The regulation, which the above clause contains, is but reasonable, because it is absolutely *necessary*. Supposing it then to be put in force, let us inquire how it will operate? — Its operation will be this. The outfit of the vessels will become so expensive, or the profits of the voyage (for one of the profits of it, it is melancholy to relate, is made from pinching the bellies of the seamen) will be so diminished, that it will operate as an *abolition* of the trade.

To sum up the whole. It has been shewn that there are two evils, included in the words *lodging* and *diet*, actually existing in the slave trade, and two remedies for these evils have been proposed. These remedies are reasonable in themselves, because necessary. Most of them exist already in other trades, and common justice requires that they should be made in that which is now under our consideration. One of them, however, has been found to have a tendency to diminish the profits, and the other to increase the expenses of the voyage; profits and expenses, which cannot bear to be diminished on the one hand, or increased on the other. What then follows, but that any salutary regulation on these points will be *ineffectual*? For the evils complained of must either all of them exist, (and there is no reasonable man but will say that they ought to cease) or, if an attempt is made at their removal, the attempt will tend to the *abolition of the trade*.

So much then for the *Regulating Bill*. Let us now apply to that of *Abolition* for a cure. But here it is evident, that the latter bill will immediately remove the evils complained of, and that it will remove them for ever: for in no \* other trade have these evils intentionally existed,  
 nor

\* In other trades the seamen sleep between decks. Their allowance of provisions is in general 2 lb. beef or pork, and 1 lb. bread, pease, or flour per day, which has been found to be as much as they can eat.

nor in any other which may be pursued is it necessary that they should exist at all.

## S E C T I O N II.

I come now to the *third* and *fourth* evils which the seamen experience in the slave trade. These are included under the heads of *treatment* and *pay*.

The nature of the evils of this description will be seen from the three following accounts.

### ACCOUNT the FIRST.

“ The seamen of the ——— were extremely ill treated.  
 “ The Captain never addressed them but with an oath,  
 “ or with some ignominious epithet or other, for he never  
 “ called any of them by his true name. He was accus-  
 “ tomed also to beat them with ropes in a very inhuman  
 “ and merciless manner, and to flog them for the slightest  
 “ omission or fault.”

“ Among the crew of the ——— was one of the name  
 “ of John Coffee, a native of Ireland. This man was  
 “ excessively ill used, if not murdered. His legs, as is  
 “ common in these voyages, were much swelled, so that he  
 “ could not walk, but with great pain. In this situation  
 “ the Captain ordered him to do some duty belonging to  
 “ the ship. The poor man replied, that he was totally  
 “ unable, for that his legs would not suffer him, and that  
 “ he was then in the greatest agony. Captain ———  
 “ answered, that he would drive his laziness out of him,  
 “ and make his legs swell more. Upon this, he ordered  
 “ him to be seized up to the main-shrouds on the starboard  
 “ side abaft, and his arms to be confined on such a part  
 “ of them that his toes should just reach the deck. In  
 “ this situation he remained for a considerable time, bear-  
 “ ing his whole weight upon his arms, that he might not,  
 “ by



“ by means of his toes touching the deck, be put to extra-  
 “ ordinary pain, till at length he felt himself in such anguish  
 “ of body, on account of his suspension by the arms, and  
 “ the racking pain in his legs, that he earnestly intreated the  
 “ Captain to put a pistol to his head and shoot him, and  
 “ thus, by an act of kindness, to relieve him from a situa-  
 “ tion to which death was infinitely to be preferred. The  
 “ Captain, however, paid no other attention to his com-  
 “ plaints, than by addressing him in the following words :  
 “ You villain, do you think that I’ll be hanged for you ?  
 “ and suffered him to remain for about six hours in such  
 “ an excruciating state. At six in the evening he was  
 “ taken down, but on the following morning died.”

“ It is an invariable rule on board slave vessels, to  
 “ oblige the seamen, on their arrival in the West Indies,  
 “ to take *half their wages in the currency* of the island, at  
 “ which the slaves are sold. This is a great hardship, for  
 “ the seamen of the ——— were charged for every  
 “ dollar (of the value of four shillings and sixpence)  
 “ which they received, eight shillings and threepence ;  
 “ that is, they received by these means but little more  
 “ than half the wages that were due to them, notwith-  
 “ standing a voyage of ill treatment, hunger, hardships,  
 “ and fatigue.”

## ACCOUNT the SECOND.

“ Among the crew of the ship ———, the cabin-boy  
 “ was singularly oppressed. Mr. ———, the chief mate,  
 “ and who afterwards succeeded to the command on the  
 “ death of Captain ———, seemed to take a delight in  
 “ persecuting him. It happened one day that the tea-  
 “ kettle, the management of which belonged to this boy,  
 “ was not boiled in time ; upon which the aforesaid chief  
 “ mate threatened to beat him, as soon as breakfast should  
 “ be over.”

“ The poor boy, on account of his former ill usage,  
 “ was terrified at his threat, and betook himself to the  
 “ lee fore-chains. When the breakfast, however, was  
 “ over, the chief mate came out of the cabin, and, not  
 “ forgetting his promise, took a piece of rope out of his  
 “ pocket, calling out to the boy by name at the same  
 “ time. The boy seeing and hearing this, and perceiv-  
 “ ing also that Mr. ——— was approaching towards  
 “ him, immediately jumped into the sea, which was very  
 “ high at the time, and was drowned. This happened  
 “ on the outward-bound passage.”

“ At another time, when the vessel was lying at ———,  
 “ James Allifon, a seaman, was very ill. Mr. ———  
 “ ordered him down into the woman’s room to scrape it.  
 “ The above Allifon accordingly went, but, having re-  
 “ ceived several bruises before, by means of a rope used  
 “ upon him by the same person, which bruises occasioned  
 “ him to be in a feeble state, he was unable to perform  
 “ the allotted task. Upon this, Mr. ——— asked him,  
 “ Why he did not proceed in his work. He replied,  
 “ That he was really unable. He had no sooner uttered  
 “ these words, than Mr. ——— threw an handspike at  
 “ him from the deck, which struck him with great vio-  
 “ lence upon the breast. In consequence of the blow,  
 “ he immediately fell down, and though he began to re-  
 “ cover a little afterwards, he lived but four days.”

“ The treatment of the seamen was cruel from the  
 “ very beginning to the end of the voyage. Ropes and  
 “ handspikes were in common use; and they were often  
 “ kicked and beaten with the fist for only imaginary faults.  
 “ I was nine other voyages to the coast, and I am ready  
 “ to come forward and say, that there was not one of  
 “ them in which a seaman was well used.”

“ In speaking of the treatment of seamen, it will be  
 “ proper to add, that, in all the ten voyages alluded to,  
 “ they were obliged, on their arrival in the West Indies,  
 “ to take *half* of the wages then due to them (the dearest  
 “ that

“ that can possibly be earned) in *currency instead of*  
 “ *sterling.*”

### ACCOUNT the THIRD.

“ The seamen of the ——— were treated in a very  
 “ barbarous manner. There were two brothers on  
 “ board the ——— of the name of Walker, from Cornwall.  
 “ These were so cruelly beaten and oppressed, that they  
 “ jumped overboard, but being taken up by the ship’s  
 “ boats, were brought on board again, and served nearly  
 “ in the same manner as those of the same description in  
 “ the former ship. Thomas Walker, in consequence of  
 “ his ill usage, became mad, and died. His brother  
 “ William, though not delirious, soon afterwards died  
 “ from the same cause.”

“ On board the ——— was also a landman, from Li-  
 “ verpool, of the name of Edward Hilton. He had  
 “ been out in one of the boats, watering all the day, that  
 “ is, from three in the morning till late at night, and  
 “ had been without any food for the whole time. He  
 “ complained to the boatswain, who was then officer of  
 “ the boat, that he was hungry, who immediately beat  
 “ him with the tiller. The same boatswain going after-  
 “ wards on board, represented the conduct of Hilton to  
 “ the officers of the ship. Upon this, he was ordered out  
 “ of the boat, and on his getting into the vessel was  
 “ beaten both by the surgeon and mate at the same time.  
 “ The former struck him in the eye with his cane, which  
 “ brought on a mortification, and occasioned the loss of  
 “ it. Being afterwards beaten and kicked about, he fell  
 “ into a decline, so that a person who had been absent for  
 “ three weeks in Junk River did not know him on his  
 “ return. When the same person was ordered again  
 “ into Junk River, and the sloop or shallop was putting  
 “ off, the Captain ordered her to be brought to, and, in  
 “ a rough and brutal manner, commanded Mr. ———,  
 “ and the rest, to take that white negroe Hilton with  
 D 2 “ them,

“ them, and to put him on shore any where, and to leave  
 “ him. Being too weak to rise up or to move, the poor  
 “ man was accordingly lowered into the boat, where he  
 “ had not been for more than twelve hours, before he  
 “ expired.”

“ The crew of the ——— having been much weakened  
 “ by mortality, and the slaughter of a whole shallop’s  
 “ crew by the natives, Captain ——— was obliged to  
 “ get hands from any vessel that could spare them. Among  
 “ others who had been spared from other ships was an Irish  
 “ seaman, of the name of Laurence Smithie, who came  
 “ from a ship called the ———, of Liverpool. This person  
 “ had by some means or other incurred the displeasure of  
 “ the surgeon of the ———, who beat him in consequence  
 “ of it so severely in the boat with the tiller, that the  
 “ blood ran down on both sides of his head. The sur-  
 “ geon not satisfied with this, complained afterwards to  
 “ the Captain, and he was put (both his legs) into irons.  
 “ A collar was also fastened to his neck, by means of  
 “ which he was chained to the pumps. In this situation  
 “ he remained without any shelter, and was obliged to  
 “ work points and gaskets for the ships sails. This was  
 “ one part of his punishment. At other times, however,  
 “ he was chained down in the boats, and there made to  
 “ row on different kinds of duty with both his legs in  
 “ irons. His punishment, including both the modes of  
 “ it described, lasted about three months, at the end of  
 “ which time, being much emaciated and weak, he  
 “ was loosened from the pumps, and his collar was taken  
 “ off. One day after this he went aft, and being much  
 “ reduced, requested of the Captain that he would give  
 “ him something to eat. The Captain, however, instead  
 “ of satisfying his hunger, beat him very severely with a  
 “ cane, one of those which grow in the country, and  
 “ which the Captains of Guineamen cause to be procured  
 “ for the purpose of beating seamen. This he did in so  
 “ violent a manner, that the unhappy man the next morn-  
 “ ing was found dead.”

“ To this account I shall add, that if there is another  
 “ hardship which seamen experience in the slave trade, be-  
 “ sides the treatment which they receive there, it is, that  
 “ after a want of shelter for months, and a state of hunger  
 “ and thirst for the same time, they are made to take half  
 “ their wages in the currency of the place, where the vessel  
 “ sells her slaves ; so that for services, which ruin the con-  
 “ stitution of many of them for ever, they are compelled to  
 “ receive little more than half of what would have been  
 “ paid them in other trades.”

It appears then, from the above accounts, that there are two other evils sustained by the seamen, or those employed in the slave trade ; the first, their treatment as far as their personal sufferings are concerned ; the second, as far as relates to their pay. That so much oppression should reign with impunity on the one hand, and so much misery be sustained unredressed on the other, is an evil of serious importance, and calls aloud for the immediate interposition of the legislative power. Nor is the deduction from their pay, though comparatively less than the other grievance, of little consequence in itself. It is a fraud \* or imposition in those who practise, or occasion it to be practised, and every fraud or imposition is an evil. It is a peculiar hardship on those that suffer it, an hardship, which they cannot remedy of themselves, and which therefore calls for redress from others.

These then being allowed to be evils, let us take each of them in its turn, and direct our thoughts to its removal.

With respect to that which relates to the treatment of seamen in point of bodily suffering, it will be proper to state one or two of the reasons from whence such a system of tyranny originates, and why it continues, that we may be the better enabled to judge of the nature of the clause,

\* It is a fraud or imposition, because most of the seamen in the slave trade have been put on board either by treachery or compulsion.

in the anticipated Bill of *Regulation*, that ought to be applied to it as a cure.

It originates and is contracted, as may easily be supposed, in the very \* prosecution of the trade. The unhappy people, who are objects of it, are incapable of gaining redress, or, in other words, are under the necessity of suffering it to continue, on various accounts. The persons to whom the slaves are consigned at the port of delivery, and the proprietors of the vessels at the ports from whence they sail, being often the principal magistrates of the place, it is almost impossible for them (as but too many instances evince) to meet with the satisfaction which their grievances require. For magistrates to open to the world, in a publick court, the cruelties of the principal agents they employ, would be to throw a censure upon themselves, and an odium upon their trade. To this it must be added, that the forms of law are tedious, that the finances of seamen are small, that evidence is to be supported for months, (with all which the Guinea officers are acquainted) and that many other circumstances occur, which operate as impediments to redress. These then being some of the causes of the continuance of the evils, let us suppose that the clause to be found in that branch of the bill which looks forward to this particular point, be of the following form.

“ And be it enacted from the day hereafter to be  
 “ named, that a new court of law be instituted in all the  
 “ slave ports belonging to Great Britain, to which all  
 “ such seamen as conceive themselves to have been in-  
 “ jured, may have an *immediate* appeal. And be it farther  
 “ enacted, under the authority aforesaid, that no person  
 “ be a member of the said court, who has *any concern*  
 “ *whatever in the African trade.*”

Here then is, first, an un sullied court, and, secondly, a quick appeal. To lose no time, let us suppose a case to have been already decided upon, and let us hasten to put

\* See Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, page 74; 2d Edition.  
 the

the sentence in force which may be supposed to have been given: — But, — upon whom is the sentence to be executed? — Not upon those who are just entering into the trade, who, while they are imbibing the cruelty that naturally springs out of it, are imbibing the fear of punishment in consequence of the new regulations at the same time, but upon people whose habits are formed, in whose very constitution the system of cruelty is interwoven. To attempt to turn such from their practices by the execution of law, would be to attempt to turn the tyger, by beating him, from the pursuit of blood. — Habit, we all know, is a second nature, and experience in the very case under consideration confirms the fact. For there have been instances in which an injured seaman has unexpectedly found a friend. His tyrant has as unexpectedly suffered, but he has gone out again, and behaved worse in the subsequent voyage, than in the preceding for which he was made to suffer.

If the reader would wish me to be more particular, I will mention an instance, though rather different in its circumstances, that is now before me. The mate of a Guineaman was tried at Barbadoes for the murder of one of the crew on the Middle Passage. The principal evidence was, by means of bribery, sent away, and the murderer escaped. — Sometime afterwards he was thought *worthy* of the command of a ship in the same trade. His escape had not the effect upon him of occasioning him to alter his conduct in his new situation, for his tyranny was more enormous, if possible, than before. In a succeeding voyage, made the latter end of the year 1787, or the beginning of 1788, he was proceeding in the same system of oppression, when death stopped him in his career.

It is \* impossible then, unless Parliament can alter the habits of men, that any laws, which are not to be

\* Even on a supposition that some redress could be gotten by the survivors, what redress could be had for those who perish in the trade, or for the families left behind them?

executed upon the present officers of Guineamen till their return home, and which do not constantly accompany and arrest them in the very moment of the commission of their enormities, will be effectual to remove the evil complained of. But if so, what remedy is to be found? It may be said by some, that the anticipated bill should contain a clause, which should prohibit the present officers of Guineamen from continuing in the trade, hoping, that those, who entered into it afresh, would, while they were imbibing the cruelty naturally springing out of it, imbibe the fear of punishment in consequence of the new regulations at the same time, and that the evil would be thus nipped in its very bud. — On this I shall make no other comment, than that such a clause, by removing those who were acquainted with the *system* of commerce in Africa, would destroy the trade.

I come now to the other evil. It has been stated, that the seamen in the slave trade, after a voyage of ill usage, hunger, hardship, and fatigue, are obliged, on their arrival at the port of delivery, to take half the wages then due to them in currency instead of sterling.

This fraud or imposition, as it must be called when applied to those who occasion it to be practised, or hardship when applied to those who endure it, calls for an immediate removal. But, — in what manner is it to be removed? What clause ought there to be in the anticipated bill of *Regulation* that will cure it, and cure it in such a manner, as that there shall be no objection with any reasonable person to its application? I answer, that it can never be objected that the seamen under consideration, who run twenty times the risk of others, should be put upon the same establishment as the seamen in other trades. This being the case, the following clause, or one similar to it, ought to be found in that branch of the bill, that adverts to the present point.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that the wages  
“ of the seamen, employed in the slave trade, be continued at their present rates.”

“ And



“ And be it farther enacted, that any money or monies,  
 “ or goods to be turned against them into money, either  
 “ issued out, or to be issued out to them in part, or in  
 “ the whole as wages, be accounted for to them and their  
 “ executors, in the sterling money of Great Britain.”

Here then is a remedy, and an unobjectionable remedy, that will fairly meet the evil complained of. But mark the consequence. The seamen, it has already been observed, are obliged to take half their wages in currency instead of sterling. But this is not all, for the wages of all such as die (and that hundreds annually die is a fact) are paid to their executors, (if they \* are ever paid at all) *even in Great Britain*, at the same rate. Upon this defrauding of the seamen of their wages on the one hand, and the pinching of them in point of provisions on the other, (as has been stated in a former place) is the great dependance of the slave merchants for the profits of their voyage. What then would follow, but that if a law should pass obliging them to make up their accounts in sterling instead of currency, it would be a stab that would contribute greatly to insure the *abolition* of the trade.

It appears then, upon the whole, that one of the evils complained of, is *incurable*, and that *no regulation* will avail. Nor is it less apparent with respect to the other, that *regulation* may be considered as *inefficient*, inasmuch as it can *never be applied*. For regulation implies the continuance of the trade. Now, if the trade is to continue, it must have its usual source of advantages and profit to support it: but if you regulate it in such a manner that the source now mentioned be exhausted, you are giving it a blow that will have a tendency to *make it fall*; and if you do not infringe upon it in the course of your regulations, then *will not the evil cease*, which

\* Very few of the executors of the deceased seamen in the slave trade can get the wages due to them, for either fictitious accounts of goods taken up in the course of the voyage are set against their wages, or the expence of administering is contrived to be made equal to the money due.

has been so justly complained of in the prosecution of the trade.

The bill of *abolition* on the contrary would be completely *effectual*, inasmuch as it would destroy for ever the sources of barbarity on the one hand, and render unnecessary the practices of iniquity on the other.

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### S E C T. III.

The fifth and sixth evils, to be traced among the seamen, or those employed in the slave trade, are, first, as has been observed, *a loss* while in the service of their respective ships, and, secondly, *a loss* after their discharge in the colonies.

To elucidate this, I will submit to the reader the three following accounts, taken from three different persons, who are enabled to speak with precision as to both the points.

#### \* ACCOUNT the FIRST.

“ In my first voyage, in the ———, about 25 seamen  
 “ were lost, to the best of my knowledge, out of 35; in  
 “ my second, about 15 out of 35; and in my third, about  
 “ 24 out of about 37. In the ——— 35 were buried  
 “ before they came to ———. In the ——— about 15  
 “ or 16 on the Coast and in the Middle Passage. In the  
 “ ——— about 5; and in the ——— 4.”

\* I might have referred here to my Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, to establish one of the evils to be now proved; but I chose rather to take the accounts of three persons, who could speak to both of them in continuance, as having fallen under their own notice.

“ I have

“ I have seen seamen in the different West India islands,  
 “ but particularly in Jamaica, lying on the wharfs and  
 “ other places in an ulcerated and helpless state. Some  
 “ of these I had known before, and knew that they were  
 “ such as had been discharged, or had deserted from Gui-  
 “ neamen on their arrival there. Of others I inquired  
 “ how they came into that situation, and to what vessels  
 “ they belonged. Their usual reply was, that they came  
 “ out of Guineamen, and that they were unable to get  
 “ their pay. — In asking them how they could think of  
 “ leaving their ships before they received their wages, they  
 “ replied, that they chose rather to come on shore than  
 “ to stay on board and be used in a barbarous manner.”

“ The above people I have seen begging about, and  
 “ driven to such distress, that I have often carried them  
 “ provisions from my own ship. I have seen them ulce-  
 “ rated from the knee-pan to the ankle, and in such a  
 “ state, that no ship whatever would receive them. I  
 “ have seen them also dying on the wharfs through hunger  
 “ and disease ; and instances have come before me of  
 “ negroes carrying their dead bodies to Spring Path to  
 “ be interred.”

“ From these and similar instances in Barbadoes also,  
 “ and the rest of the West India Islands, I am strongly of  
 “ opinion, that a very considerable number of those sea-  
 “ men, who from cruel treatment are forced to desert  
 “ in the West Indies from the different Guineamen that  
 “ arrive there, annually perish, after having experienced  
 “ a state of misery, which no pen can be equal to the task  
 “ of describing.”

## ACCOUNT the SECOND.

“ I believe that the slave trade destroys hundreds of  
 “ seamen annually. The ———, which was but a  
 “ small vessel, took out about fifteen persons in all, two  
 “ of whom were lost on the Coast, and four on the  
 “ Middle

“ Middle Passage. In the ———, there were forty on board, including all, when she sailed from home, thirty-two of whom were lost before the voyage was finished : add to this, that she was obliged to be manned again from other vessels on the coast.”

“ When the ——— arrived at the port of delivery, three seamen left her to seek redress ;—but they were unable to obtain it. Thus turned adrift, and unable to get relief, two of them, one of whom, a North countryman, was named Robert Humble, and the other George Bennet, died in the streets of the place.”

“ I have been in all the West India islands, but never was in any of them when a Guineaman came in, but I have seen a number of distressed seamen lying about the wharfs and quays. These people are generally known by the name of Wharfingers,—They are such as desert from Guineamen. They are distinguished from other seamen by their emaciated appearance, and ulcerated state, a state which is occasioned by bad and unwholesome provisions, exposure to the weather, and ill usage. I am positive that many of these miserable objects die in the West Indies ; for I have found them lying dead in empty sugar-casks, and speak therefore positively to the fact. Upon the whole, estimating those, that are lost in the course of the voyage, and those that are lost after they desert in the West Indies, I cannot consider the slave trade but as the very grave of our mariners.”

### ACCOUNT the THIRD.

“ I am of opinion that the slave trade is the destruction of our marine. When the ——— anchored in the carenage, Grenada, there were only seven white people on board her, namely, the surgeon, captain, boatswain, cooper, carpenter, cook, and a lad of the name of Johnson, who came from Dumfries. The loss which  
“ this

“ this vessel sustained was rendered still greater by the death of the carpenter in the carenage.”

“ I am also of opinion, that several seamen desert or are discharged from Guineamen, on their arrival in, or before they leave, the West Indies, and that several of these are additionally lost there. Of those that have been mentioned to have come in with the ———, I believe, to the best of my recollection, that only the surgeon, and Johnson, the lad, went home in her. — With respect to the latter assertion, I have seen Guinea sailors begging in Grenada, in a very emaciated and ulcerated state; in such a state, that I have set them down in my own mind, as likely to be dead in a short time. On a certain day one of them came to the storehouse, belonging to the ship ———. He took shelter under the shed of the crane, and died there. I assisted in burying him, and I also assisted in burying three other Guinea sailors so dying, while I lay in the carenage, at Grenada.”

It appears, from the above accounts, that there are two distinct losses, as they happen in two distinct situations, among the seamen who are employed in the slave trade, the one *while in the service of their respective ships*, the other, *after they have been put adrift in the colonies*. The first is often very considerable: the latter, though not ascertained with precision, may be supposed great. That these losses are evils, scarcely any one will deny. For if the seamen of Great Britain have raised their country to that comparative rank which she holds among other nations at the present day, and if they are at this moment considered to be the pillars of the State, these are certainly evils of the most serious importance, and with the magnitude of which we cannot be too sensibly impressed.

On a supposition then that they are evils, it is highly proper that they should be redressed, and that as speedily as they can be. It becomes us therefore to apply again to the

the

the *Regulating Bill*, that some clause or clauses may be found, which may be adequate to their removal.

With respect to the first evil, or, *the loss of seamen while in the service of their respective ships*, it will be necessary to state the causes of it, before a remedy can be sought for. These causes then, to lose no time in stating them, are three, namely, boatwork, insurrection, and disease contracted from the diseases of the slaves, and these three are peculiar to the slave trade.

On the subject of the first cause, it may be necessary to remark, that the cargo is procured on the *Windward Coast*, by means of open boats. These boats are continually beating about and watching the signals upon the shore. They proceed to the distance of twenty or thirty leagues, and are often absent for three weeks from the ship. During this time the seamen are exposed to the inclemency of the weather night and day, which becomes frequently the occasion of their death.

Some of these boats are upset, and the seamen are again lost. Others go up the rivers, and are absent for a considerable time. The days are excessively hot, and the dews are excessively cold and heavy. Of those who are sent upon this service many are considered as lost. Some never return with the boats. Others come on board and die.

This boatwork then, which is so prejudicial to the lives of seamen, is absolutely necessary on the *Windward Coast*, and so long as a vessel is permitted to slave there, so long will boats be used, and so long will seamen continue to be lost in the ways described.

To remove the evil then, the following clause may be expected to be found in the *Regulating Bill*.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that no vessel  
“ be permitted to slave on the *Windward Coast* of  
“ Africa,

“ Africa, within the limits hereafter to be assigned.” \* —

Now the operation of the above clause will be exactly this. By the introduction of it, you not only exclude the merchant from getting some of the finest slaves which the coast of Africa supplies, and deprive him of other local advantages, but you curtail the limits of the trade. If you curtail the limits of the trade, more must slave in the same space; if more in the same space, then the competition must become greater, and thus the clause, when enforced, by increasing the price of slaves, and consequently the *expenses of the trade*, must have a direct tendency towards its *abolition*.

With respect to the second and third causes of the loss of seamen, *while in the service of their respective ships*, namely, insurrection, and disease, contracted from the diseases of the slaves, the following clauses only in the *Regulating Bill* can be considered as effectual.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that the Africans  
“ to be shipped in future in British vessels, shall have no  
“ resentment or spirit of revenge against those who carry  
“ them from their country.”

“ And be it farther enacted, that they be not so subject  
“ for the future to grief and despair, which may prey  
“ upon their minds, and occasion sickness; or that, if  
“ sickness should arise from thence, it be not increased to  
“ disease from animal heat and stench, or from sudden  
“ transition from heat to cold, and other (formerly) con-  
“ comitant causes, or, if unexpectedly diseases should  
“ make their appearance among them, these diseases be  
“ not contagious.”

\* Slaves are sometimes brought on board by the natives on the Windward Coast; but were a vessel to stay till the whole cargo was so brought to them, she must lie there thrice the length of time that she does at present, and certain expenses would increase at a threefold rate. From this, and a variety of other considerations, no other clause would be effectual.

Now if these clauses can be introduced into any Act of Parliament, and *enforced*, two of the causes of the loss of seamen, *while in the service of their respective ships*, will be cut off: — But if Parliament have not the power of enforcing them, then will they remain, and will remain as before a standing and lasting objection to the existence of the slave trade.

We come now to the second evil, or *the loss among such seamen as are put adrift in the colonies, after their arrival there*. But here it will be necessary, as before, to state the reason of such a loss, before we can apply to the *Bill of Regulation* for a cure.

Some of the slave vessels, which arrive in the West Indies, have, perhaps, experienced but little mortality in their crews. In this case, it is clear that many of them become *supernumerary* for the remainder of the voyage.

Others again bring them in *so weak and enfeebled a state*, that they are considered as *incapable* of bringing the vessels home.

These circumstances then occasion many of them to be discharged there, not to mention that every nerve is exerted to bring others, who go on shore, under the appellation of deserters, and to refuse them admittance on board.—Thus put adrift by various stratagems, they are left to shift for themselves. All of the supernumerary are not always able to get employ, and such are often obliged to stay till disorders generated in the course of the voyage break out, and poverty overtakes them. The sickly and diseased on the other hand, even if employment is before them, are not admitted, from incapacity to work and the fear of infection, into other ships. Surrounded thus by disease and poverty, many of them die, and hence the *loss among such seamen as are put adrift in the colonies after their arrival there*.



The evil then having been now explained, the question is, how ought it to be remedied, and to be remedied in an unobjectionable way. I reply, that in the case of the *supernumerary* they ought never to be discharged at the port of delivery, for the merchant having had their services in the most trying part of the voyage, and having had also their lives at his service had it been more fatal, the least thing that he ought to do for them is to retain them in pay, and to bring them home. In the case of the *sickly* and *diseased* much stronger is their claim upon him, for small indeed would be such a recompence for the ruin of their health and constitutions. But I reply again, in the case of both, that the merchant should be *compelled by law* to bring them back, for *his contract with them* was not that any of them should leave him, or be discharged at the port of delivery, but that they should *go the whole round with his vessel, and bring her home*. Any obligation therefore upon the merchant to do this, would be only an obligation to *fulfil a contract*, which he made with them before their departure from their native shore.

This then being but a reasonable demand, and never to be dispensed with, the following, or a similar clause, productive of the intended effect, may be supposed to be found in the anticipated Bill of Regulation.

“ And be it enacted from henceforward, that the Captain  
 “ or chief officer of every slave vessel, be fined in an heavy  
 “ sum, hereafter to be named, for every sailor whom he  
 “ leaves behind at the port of delivery, except for such as  
 “ shall appear, by certificate, under the seal of the Go-  
 “ vernor, or other officers of the islands, to have voluntari-  
 “ ly solicited, and that without any compulsion or artifice  
 “ whatever, his own discharge, or to have deserted, which  
 “ desertion with the repeated causes of it, is to be made  
 “ appear by the examination of the remaining crew. And  
 “ be it farther enacted, that the certificate be of the fol-  
 “ lowing form, &c.\*”

Here

\* Other regulations ought to take place at the same time. The clause  
 E relative

Here then is a reasonable clause, and a clause which ought immediately to be put in force. But mark its operation. If you oblige the merchant to bring home the supernumerary, *according to his contract*, you oblige him to find supernumerary provisions and wages, and to *increase the expenses of the voyage*. If you oblige him again to bring home those, whose constitutions he has *been the means of ruining*, and who are incapable of work, you oblige him to hire an additional number of hands to navigate his vessel home. But here again the sickly become supernumerary, and supernumerary victuals and wages will occasion a *diminution of the profits of his trade*.

To sum up the whole. It has appeared that out of the two evils, and those of a serious nature, described in this section, as existing in the prosecution of the slave trade, one of them is totally *incurable*, and that any *regulation therefore must be ineffectual*: and with respect to the other, it has appeared equally clear that it *can never be applied*; for that the evil must either exist, or if an attempt be made to remove it, such an *increase of expense, or diminution of profit* must take place, as will tend greatly to the *abolition of the trade*.

The *Bill of Abolition*, on the contrary would, it is evident, at the first sight, cure the evils complained of at once, and would probably remove them for ever: for in no other trade that can be pointed out could two of the causes of one of the losses specified ever exist again; and in no other is it probable that such a number of sickly and supernumerary seamen should be found at the second port of destination, as to render such infamous practices necessary on the one hand, or such a second loss of them on the other.

relative to desertion in the "Act for the better regulation of seamen in the merchant service," should be amended, the crews mustered at the port of delivery, and the like.

## C H A P. IV.

Having fully considered the first and second division of evils sustained by *the objects of the slave trade*, as well as by *those who are employed in it*, I come now to the third. This may be said to include *a complication of evils*, inasmuch as the slave trade prevents the introduction of *many sorts of good*. These evils then, which may be said to exist, or these different sorts of good, which may be said to be prevented, either exist, or are prevented from existing, as we refer them to two places; first, *to the Coast of Africa*; secondly, *to the British Colonies*.

## S E C T. I.

The different sorts of good, which might exist in Africa, would arise from a trade in its own productions. These productions I have specified in my Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade. They are not imaginary, but real, for of the existence of all of them living testimony can be produced, and of most of them ocular demonstration can be given.

The first good that would result to us from having certain productions from that quarter, would be, that they would be *superior in quality* to those which are now brought to us from other parts: the second, that they could be had *at a cheaper rate*: the third, that whereas we now pay for many of them in money, we should pay for them in our own *manufactures*: to which is to be added, a very pleasing circumstance, that they would not *interfere* with the productions of our *present colonies*. — These then would be substantial advantages to any people in the way of trade, but others would naturally attend them; for if a commerce were once established with the natives of Africa in the productions of their own country, civilization would be the consequence of it, and there would be a *perpetually growing* demand for our manufac-  
E 2
tures,

tures, and a foundation laid for an *increasing revenue* to the state.

Now, if the productions of the kind and quality alluded to are to be found in Africa, it is evident that *the different sorts of good*, or the advantages now described, might exist and would result to us from that quarter.—This then brings me to the point. Two bills have been supposed to be brought into parliament, the one for the *Regulation*, and the other for the *Abolition* of the Slave Trade. The question is, how far these advantages would lie dormant, or be brought into existence by the passing of the one or of the other.

To ascertain this point it will be necessary to inquire into the reason why the productions of Africa have been almost hitherto untouched, and why they continue in such a state.

It appears, by way of reply, in the six accounts given us in the second chapter of the present Essay, that parties of men, natives of Africa, go out for the purpose of stealing one another, that they go generally in the night, that they attack and burn villages to get into their possession the persons of the inhabitants, as well as to seize upon such as they may meet with at other times; that this is practised to such an alarming degree, that many of them dare not stir out at night, and that these practices are in use from the River Senegal to Angola, which are the boundaries of the trade. Now, if this be the case, the reason immediately appears: for who would go out and provide these articles for us, while he is fearful of being intercepted in his way? Who would labour \* more than for his own immediate support, if another is likely to enjoy his harvest, or the overplus of his pains, or perhaps tear him away before he can enjoy it himself. These then are

\* It may be considered as a rule, that in proportion to the good or bad government prevailing upon the Coast, or the consequent security of the inhabitants or not, and in proportion to the extent of the trade in slaves that is carried on in any part of it, cultivation makes a progress, or is impeded.

insuperable impediments, and *the want of security in the people* is one of the grand causes why the productions of Africa are in their present state, and why we are excluded from *those different sorts of good*, which would otherwise accrue to us from that quarter.

It appears again, from the same accounts, that some of those who are torn away from their connexions in the night, and sent into slavery, are seized by *their own kings*; that others are sold for witchcraft; that the accusers are the *great men or kings*, and *the poor* the *sufferers*. This furnishes us with another solution, for it appears, that it is more to the *temporary interest* of the kings to trade in the bodies of their subjects, than in the produce of their country; as by means of the one they can gratify their wants *at the moment*, whereas the other can be made the medium of their gratification *but at a certain time*.

This point then being ascertained, or at least sufficiently ascertained for the purpose, we may now apply to the two Bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition* respectively, to see whether the different sorts of good likely to result to us from Africa, would lie dormant, or be produced by the passing of the one or of the other.

With respect to the *Regulating Bill*, it is evident at the first sight, that it would *deprive us for ever* of the advantages described. For the *regulation* implies the *continuance* of the trade, and so long as the trade continues, so long will there be temptations, and so long will the needy and avaricious embrace them to obtain the persons of men, and so long as the persons of men are obtained in that manner, so long will that *insecurity in the people* remain, which has been one of the causes of keeping the productions of Africa in their present state; nor is it less obvious that so long as the trade continues, so long will the second of these causes continue also, or, in other words, so long will it be the *temporary interest* of the kings to deal in the bodies of their subjects rather than in the productions of their country.

With

With respect to the *Bill of Abolition*, on the other hand, its operation would be this. It would render the nefarious practices specified in the second chapter *unnecessary*; but if it rendered them unnecessary, then would a *general security and confidence* take place among the people. It would also render the persons of men no longer the medium through which the princes of Africa could gratify their wants. But if so, they must gratify them in another way. But here the productions of the soil start up as the medium, and the only medium, in their place. It would become *their interest* then, *both temporary and future*, to employ their subjects in the cultivation or collection of these. But if confidence and security were established, and it became the interest of the princes to trade in the productions of their country, then would those advantages, or those *different sorts of good* be brought into existence, which have been before described.

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## S E C T. II.

Having now considered the different sorts of good that might be derived from Africa, I come to those that might result to us from the *Colonies*. These are of two kinds, consisting, as before, of advantages to individuals, and of advantages to the state.

To elucidate some of these advantages,\* I shall state the following positions :

If the lives of the present slaves were to be prolonged, and care were to be taken of the new generation that are springing up, as well as of every succeeding generation

\* For the future existence of these, and other advantages, the reader is referred to the 1st chap. of the 2d part of the Essay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade.

from the present day, the planter might save the money which he now expends in the purchase of slaves.

If his slaves were to do their work better than they do at present, and were to do more of it in the same time, his income might be increased.

If they loved him, he might live in security, and without any apprehension of alarm; and if they were additionally attached to the spot on which they lived, and were to live among their relatives and friends, the islands might be safe and impregnable in the time of war.

Nor is it less evident, if the number of labourers in the islands were greater, that two effects would immediately be produced; first, that more sugar and rum would be made, and consequently a greater addition to the revenue; and, secondly, that there would be a considerable increase of demand for the manufactures of this country.

Now these different *sorts of good*, or advantages, so solid and substantial in themselves, are the immediate and natural result of the different propositions made. This being the case, the question is, on what the different circumstances, which are made the basis of the propositions, depend, and then, whether any circumstance, on which the others may so depend, would be prevented from existing, or would be called into existence by the Bills of *Regulation or Abolition*.

It may be stated in reply, that *good treatment*, considered in all its points, is the *grand circumstance* on which the whole depend. It would prolong the lives of the present slaves. It would preserve more of those who are born than are saved at present. It would of course increase population. It would operate as a stimulus to labour, and it would produce a love and attachment to the proprietor and to the spot.

Let

Let us now apply to the *Regulating Bill*, to see its influence on the circumstance described.

If the slave trade is to be *regulated*, it is evidently to *exist*. Now, as long as it exists, so long will there be *adventurers* to the islands, who will have but a *temporary* interest, and who depending necessarily on *great and immediate exertions*, will *injure the health of their slaves*. So long again as the trade exists, so long will it hold up to the planter the prospect of an annual supply, and encourage him in *speculations*, the enforcement of which will *occasion misery to the slave, and shorten the period of his life*; and so long again as it exists, so long will it continue to furnish him with people forcibly deprived of the natural rights of men, and oblige him to adopt a system of discipline of *the most arbitrary and oppressive kind*: all which effects of the continuance of the slave trade will for ever deprive him, as well as the country, of the *different sorts of good*, or the advantages that have been described.

The *Bill of Abolition*, on the other hand, would have a contrary effect, for if no more slaves were to be had, no speculation or adventure could take place, but the lives of the slaves would be prolonged, their population increased, and their attachment gained; all which would operate, if referred to individuals, to the increase of income and peace of mind of the planter, and of course the security of the annuitant and mortgagee; and, if considered in a national point of view, to the safety of the islands, the increase of the revenue of the mother country, and the increase of demand for its manufactures.\*

\* There are several Estates that have supported themselves for years without any supplies from Africa. The slave trade of course may be considered to be *abolished with respect to them*: now, on all such estates, all the consequences here laid down are to be found.



## C H A P. V.

I have now considered, according to my design, the *three divisions* of the evils, that exist in consequence of the prosecution of the slave trade, and I have applied to them the two bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition* respectively as a cure. The consequences of such an application have been made appear, but as these consequences are scattered in different parts of the work, it remains to bring them together, in order that they may be seen more clearly, and a better idea may be had of the force of them in an united state.

To begin. It has appeared that some of the *Regulations*, necessary to remove the evils complained of in the slave trade, are of two kinds, some of them having a tendency to *increase the expenses*, and others to *diminish the profits* of the trade.

With respect to those of the first kind, it was thought proper that the following should be made: first, that the *seamen should be fed as in other trades*, with the addition of *wine or spirits* to be given them in certain situations upon the coast. Secondly, that *the wages* of those who die should be paid to their executors, and of those who survive to themselves, in *sterling money*. Thirdly, that the *sick and supernumerary should be brought home*. Now, if these regulations all of which are but necessary and just, were to be put in force, it appears, upon a fair estimate, that they would add to the expenses of every vessel on an average, that sails for slaves, not less than \* four hundred pounds.

With respect to those of the second kind, the following were deemed necessary to be made. First, that no vessel should have on board at any one time more than in *the proportion of one slave to every one ton and an half*, to be reckoned according to the register of the said vessel. Secondly, that *one-tenth of the range of the lower deck*

\* See page 77.

should be appropriated to *the seamen*. Now, if these regulations were to take place, there would only be allotted to a vessel of *one hundred tons* about *sixty slaves*. But by the confession of the Liverpool Delegates, if the trade were to be so restricted, that a vessel of *one hundred tons* were allowed to carry only *an hundred slaves*, there would be a certain loss to the merchant of \* *five hundred and ninety pounds*. What then would be his loss were he to be restricted in the former ratio?

Now, if we add the consequences of *both the kinds of regulation* together, if we add the *increase of expense* on the one hand to the *loss or diminution of profit* on the other, the slave trade must inevitably fall, inasmuch as there would be an incumbrance to the amount of *one thousand pounds* on every vessel that was to sail for slaves.

But what regulations are these, that would bring such an incumbrance on the trade, and that would thus occasion it to fall?—They are such as *justice demands*: they are such as are *absolutely necessary*. For the slave it is solicited, that he may be conveniently transported, and his life preserved:—for the seamen, that they may only be treated as in other trades. What a dreadful commerce then is this, which we are now considering, that it cannot be regulated *consistently with the views of Humanity*, but it *must be abolished*; that it cannot be put upon *the same establishment* as other trades, but it *must fall*?—And are these evils to continue, because the slave merchant will be a loser by his voyage? Perish the thought! It becomes us, *at least*, to regulate, and after we have regulated, to say to him, “We have taken care of the slave, because he is an human being, of the like feelings with yourself, and justice and humanity demand it. We have taken care of the seamen for the same reason, and because they are the pillars of the State. We now consign the trade into your hands, in its present regulated form. If you cannot carry it on upon the terms on which we give it you, it ought to fall.”

\* See Minutes of the Evidence, &c. p. 21.

Upon the whole. It has been now reduced to an actual demonstration, that any *Bill of Regulation whatever*, which is intended to be *effectual*, can never heal that class of the *evils* which are sustained by the *slaves* in their transportation, and by the seamen in their *lodging, &c.*, and *pay*. For if the trade is to be *regulated*, it is to *exist*. But if it is to *exist*, it must have a *profit*, and the regulations, *necessary to be made*, will admit of *none*.

Such then is the peculiar situation of this detestable trade. But let us allow for a moment that the before-mentioned class of evils could be removed, and that the trade could be carried on with advantage. But what then? Are there no other evils to be remedied? What clause is to be applied to cure the treatment of seamen, as springing out of *the very nature* of the trade? What clause is to remove the loss of them, as arising from *insurrection*, and *disease* contracted from the *diseases* of the slaves? And, above all, how is the *mode* of obtaining the persons of the Africans for the purposes of sale to be remedied?

Here again it is evident, that no *Regulating Bill* whatever can be effectual; for this second branch of the evil, is totally *incurable*, and must continue with all its objections as long as the slave trade is suffered to exist. But of what nature is the last-mentioned evil in the second branch, which it is said *must continue, and is incurable*? It is, as I have observed in a former place, the *parent and foundation* of the rest. It is *that evil* which first awakened the many benevolent opposers of the slave trade. It is an evil of *such magnitude*, that, *could the former class be totally removed*, it would prove alone sufficient to arrest the attention of all good men, and to give a spur to those, whom it has already roused into action, to continue their exertions with zeal and perseverance, till they should accomplish their design.

But after all, let us go still farther. Let us even suppose that both the first and second class of evils could be  
effectually

effectually removed, we should still object to the existence of the slave trade, and we should object to it as *politicians*. We should say that there were new and inexhaustible sources of *revenue* both in *Africa* and the *Colonies*, new sources of marine, new sources of demand for our *manufactures*. But how are these new sources to be opened? Not by any *regulating bill whatsoever*. For *regulation* implies the *continuance* of the trade, and so long as the trade *continues*, so long will there be an *insecurity* of the people, and a *certain temporary interest* among the princes of *Africa*, and, as to the *Colonies*, so long will a *spirit of adventure* and *speculation* exist, and so long will there be an introduction of people *robbed of the natural rights of man*; all which circumstances will continue to cooperate to the exclusion both of individuals and the nation from the several advantages that have been pointed out.

Upon the whole. It appears, that any *regulating bill*, even of the wisest kind, could never remove the evils of the first class, inasmuch as it could *never be applied*: that with respect to those of the second, among which is the parent and foundation of the rest, it could never *operate at all*; that, thus inapplicable on the one hand, and inefficient on the other, it would be a *political evil*, inasmuch as it would prevent a variety of good, both to individuals and the State: in short, that a *Bill of Abolition only could be effectual*, which would come in like a *saving arm*, which would *destroy* the many-headed monster at once, and which, while it would improve the *system of morals* both in *Africa* and at home, and the *manners of both countries*, would be productive of great *political good*.

# E S T I M A T E

Alluded to in Page 73.

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## T A B L E I.

IT has been stated to be the practice in the Slave Trade to pay the wages of such seamen as die in the voyage in the currency of the island where the vessel sells her slaves, and to oblige such as arrive there to take half the wages for the whole time employed in currency also. One of the regulations therefore was, that “ the seamen “ in the slave trade, or their executors, should be paid “ in sterling.”

To see how the regulation would operate, let us suppose, first, that an African voyage (for so it appears by the muster-rolls) is on an average twelve months. In this case the voyage to the Coast will be two months, the stay there will be four, the length of the Middle Passage two, the stay in the West Indies two, and the voyage from the West Indies to England two more.

Secondly, as some number must be assumed, let us suppose that 5000 people, including officers and seamen, are employed at \* fifty shillings per month each. In this case 1000 at least will be dead before the voyage is completed, namely, about 30 (according to the muster-rolls) at the end of the first two months; 330 at the end of the next two; 280 at the end of the two next; 250 at the end of the two next; 55 at the end of the two next; and 55 before the two next are completed, or the voyage is finished.

\* This is the calculation of the Liverpool Delegates. See Minutes of Evidence, &c.

Now, to apply the regulation to the wages of the seamen, as they pass the different stages of mortality, till they receive their half-pay in the Colonies, the following effect (if \* £.157 be the medium currency) will be produced :

1st. On the wages of 30, dead at the end of the first two months (since they have had their advance-money of two months, and the merchants have had their services in return) there will be gained or lost - } £. —

2d. On the wages of 330 dead at the end of four months (two months advance being deducted) the merchants will gain - } £. 600

3d. On the wages of 280 dead at the end of six months, they will gain (two months advance-money deducted) - - - - } £. 1017

4th. On the wages of 250 dead at the end of eight months, they will gain (two months advance-money deducted) - - - - } £. 1362

5th. On the † half-pay of 4110 arriving in the Colonies, they will gain - - - - } £. 14922

That is, If they are obliged to pay their seamen as in other trades, they will be taxed with an additional expense of } £. 17901

\* Jamaica currency is 140/. for 100/. sterling and that of the other islands about 175—hence the medium 157.

† The two months advance in this case is turned into currency, and is not to be deducted as before.

## T A B L E II.

It has appeared in the course of the work, that the seamen in the slave trade are very sparingly fed; that to each man on an average  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. of beef or pork (mostly damaged) is given per day, and 4 lb. of bread per week:—another regulation therefore was that “the seamen in the slave trade should be fed as in other trades.”

To see how this regulation would operate, we must first state the cost to the merchant of victualling a seaman in the slave trade; and of victualling him in another trade.—Let us then give every advantage to the former, let us say that he has 1 lb. of the *best* Irish pork or beef, and 1 lb. of the *best* biscuit per day. The cost of both will be  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . Let us call it 5d. and it will be an allowance never, I believe, experienced in the slave trade.

Now the cost of victualling a seaman in other trades is 10d per day, or double, so that if we reckon 5d on every person of the assumed number, it will either shew the saving made by the slave merchants, or the tax that would be raised upon them, were the regulation to take place.

1st. On provisions for 4970 persons alive at the end of the two first months, they must have gained - - - - - } £. 6210

2d. On ditto for 4640, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - } £. 5800

3d. On ditto for 4360, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - } £. 5450

4th. On ditto for 4110, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - } £. 5140

So that they would be taxed, in consequence of the second resolution, to the amount of } £. 22600

## T A B L E III.

It has been stated, that in consequence of wooding and watering, and the peculiar situation in which the seamen of the slave trade stand, a third regulation should take place, namely, "that they should be allowed a certain portion of wine, while they are doing their duty upon the coast."

Let each man then be allowed one pint of	} £. 354 <sup>0</sup>
*Teneriffe wine per day for two months,	
and this regulation throws an additional tax upon the merchants of - - -	

## T A B L E IV.

We have now followed them to the Colonies, and we have regulated their pay and provisions till their arrival there: but here it has been stated that several are immediately put adrift; another regulation therefore was, "that neither the *sick* nor the *supernumerary* should be discharged."

Now if 5000 be the assumed number, about 1400 would be put adrift on their arrival in the Colonies. But these are to be retained in consequence of the last regulation. But if so, their provisions at the rate of 10d. per day, and their pay at the rate of \*28s. per month for two months, or during the vessel's stay in the Colonies, would be an additional tax upon the merchants of - - - - - £. 7420

\* Teneriffe wine is the cheapest, most convenient to be had, and the best, by experiment in the king's service, for those employed in an African voyage. It might be had at 6 l. per hoghead. 4970 persons for two months would demand 590 hogheads at the rate mentioned.

† Those put adrift are not officers: their pay therefore may be averaged at twenty-eight shillings per month.



## T A B L E V.

Let us now follow them home.—On a supposition that 1400 would be put adrift, if 5000 were assumed as the number employed, about 600 would be taken in their places on the departure of the vessels from the Islands, that is, 800 less would be taken home than would be put adrift. But by the last regulation, “neither the sick nor the supernumerary are to be discharged,” and therefore 800 more would be necessarily taken home in consequence of it, than were accustomed to be taken before. The pay then of these extra 800, and their provisions for two months, or during their passage home, upon the former terms, would lay an additional tax on the merchants of - - - - - £. 4240

Thus, without reckoning *a variety of other expenses*, which might be reckoned, and which would certainly result from the above regulations, the merchants would be taxed

By Table I. with an additional expense of	£. 17901
By Table II. - - - - -	22600
By Table III. - - - - -	3540
By Table IV. - - - - -	7420
By Table V. - - - - -	4240
That is in all with - - - - -	<u>£. 55701</u>

Now divide the last sum by 140, the number  
 of vessels that would certainly demand the  
 assumed number 5000, and there would be  
 a tax on every vessel of - - - - - £. 398

There cannot be a greater proof that the slave trade is  
 a losing trade than the above statements, for if it be a  
 gaining trade, why is £. 55,701 to be squeezed out of the  
 bellies and pay of the seamen, that the merchants may go  
 cheaper to market by £. 398 on each vessel, than the  
 merchants of any other class?

F I N I S.